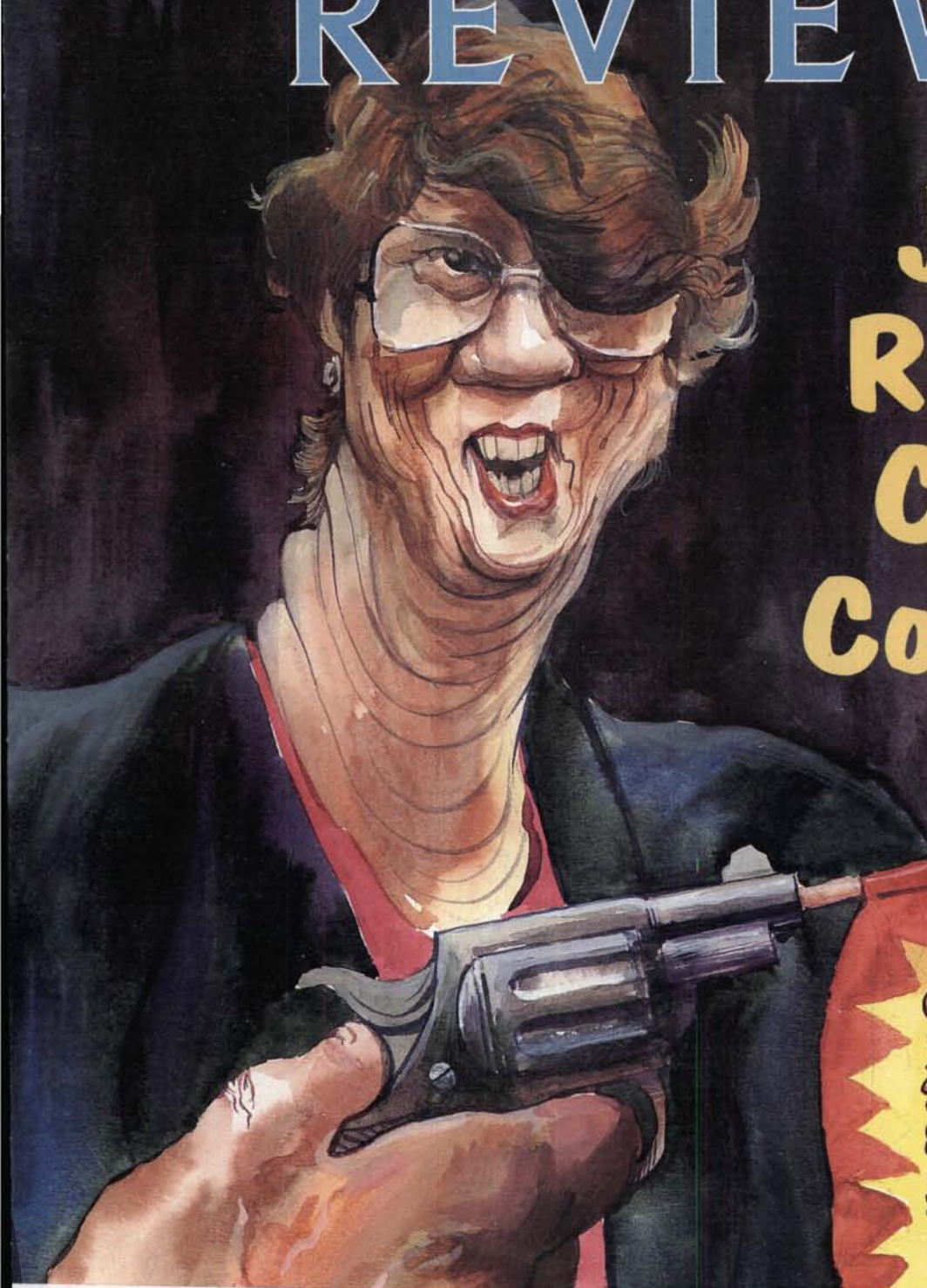


BUSH'S
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Charles Colson on Nixon's Life ■ Peter Schweizer on Reagan's Doctrine

NATIONAL REVIEW

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NATIONAL REVIEW

MAY 30, 1994 VOL. XLVI, NO. 10

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The main reason crime has skyrocketed since the 1960s, argues **Ernest van den Haag**, is that the risk of punishment has plummeted. Does the Crime Bill up the ante? . . . **Oliver Starr Jr.** tells how one career criminal made the system work for him.

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MAY 30, 1994 / NATIONAL REVIEW 1

Watch Your Language

Ad hominem arguments are doubly pointless when based on fantasies and errors, and John Simon's reliance on them in his commentary on my book *The Language Instinct* confirms that he is uninterested in substantive discussion of language ["Pinker to Pinker," April 18].

Simon speculates that my explanation of nonstandard English grammar is motivated by my being from a "socially underprivileged background," perhaps "the first college graduate in [my] family," who feels doubly "beleaguered" as an "Anglophone Jew in Quebec" and who must be trying to "prove [his] less literate kinfolk right." My highly literate kinfolk have been earning university degrees for three generations, and I have lived, privileged and unbeleaguered, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for 18 years. More relevant, my points are obvious to everyone, greenhorn or blue-blood, who has looked at dialects with an unparochial eye.

Mr. Simon reinforces my point that the fiat of grammar pedants often have no basis in style, logic, or history. For example, if *intriguing* is problematic because it is a "Gallicism," then so is 60 per cent of English vocabulary. If *intuit* is "not English" because it is a back-formation, then neither are *diagnose*, *donate*, and dozens of other verbs.

Simon also objects that the excerpt in which he claimed that Black English speakers are "ignorant of how language works" ends before a sentence calling such ignorance "regrettable," "innocent," and "touching." But I was not portraying him as a "racist pig." I was portraying him as a "know-nothing" because his proclamations are grounded in nothing more than what grates on his ear. Black English has well-documented, centuries-old roots, and its relationship between sound and meaning has been described as a grammar in countless studies. The lack of subject-predicate agreement in *we was* is no more an example of "ignorance of how language works" than is our parallel lack in *you say* compared to *thou sayest* or *y'all say*.

Simon plays to the galleries by calling me a "knee-jerk liberal" for defending President Clinton's grammar—conven-

iently ignoring the parallel defense of George Bush in the preceding paragraph (and the chapter in my book which undermines one of the foundations of conventional liberalism, the doctrine of the blank slate).

Contrary to the impressions left by Simon's truncated quotations, *The Language Instinct* discusses prose style repeatedly and advocates efforts to improve it. But the discussions bring in history, psychology, and principles of grammar, a "scientific" approach that Simon deplors. They thereby conclude that good writing should not be confused with old wives' tales about what is "correct" or with Simon's red herrings of "differentiation and separation."

Steven Pinker
Cambridge, Mass.

In a certain sense, any negative review of a book written by a human being is an ad hominem argument, though when the writer is Steven Pinker, it may be more of an ad asinum one. If Professor Pinker is descended from three generations of literate Canadians, and has lived the good Cantabrigian life for 18 years, there is even less justification for his errant ways.

A very slippery fellow, this. He talks of my ignoring his defense of George Bush's English. But does he in fact defend Bush? Yes, on page 389, where he upholds the Bushian use of "Who do you trust?"—but only because William Safire impugned it, and Safire, being one of the despised "language mavens," must be put down. But on page 329, we read that "Between 1989 and 1992, many people suspected that the Chief Executive of the United

States and his second-in-command were not playing with a full linguistic deck." There follow two quotations each from Bush and Quayle that are, indeed, pretty damning. But note Pinker's craven, sneaky way of attacking. It is not that Bush and Quayle were wrong, or wrong in Pinker's view, but that "many people suspected" them of linguistic incompetence.

Again, note the shiftiness in the claim that The Language Instinct "undermines one of the foundations of conventional liberalism, the doctrine of the blank slate." Now, Pinker's book argues merely that the language instinct is inborn; liberals, conventional or otherwise, couldn't care less about an inborn language instinct. Their concern is with man as a political animal, and they assert that the human mind is born free of prejudice—a blank slate—and that discrimination has to be taught. But about that, Pinker's book has nothing to say.

Now take Gallicisms. Professor Pinker seems unable to distinguish between words that came in with the Norman Conquest, and others of more recent vintage than 1066, usually perpetrated by sloppy journalists and their readers, as well as by some Professors of Cognitive Neuroscience. On the subject of intriguing, for instance, here is Eric Partridge in Usage and Abusage: "intrigue and intriguing are to be avoided: not only are they unnecessary, but they are wrongly derived from the French. . . ." Fowler, in Modern English Usage, concurs, calling this one of those Gallicisms "that have no merit whatever . . . and . . . the great demerit of being identical with and therefore confusing the sense of a good English word."

A reader, Mr. Louis F. Sander, has kindly sent me Mr. Pinker's written response to Esquire at his nomination as one of the "outstanding men and women under forty." There Mr. Pinker compared himself with a character in a Kurt Vonnegut story who lived "in a society in which people were not only made equal in terms of their rights but also in terms of ability." Note the glaringly misplaced "not only." In the story, the outstanding young professor continued, intellectuals "had to wear headphones that gave ear-splitting blasts at intervals of every thirty seconds." Note the redundant "at intervals of." And he concluded, "I sometimes feel that a lot of my day it's as if I'm wearing these headphones." This may pass for good English at MIT's Center for Cognitive Neuroscience, but people who use it should not go around casting aspersions. Isn't much of the MIT façade made of plate glass?

—JS



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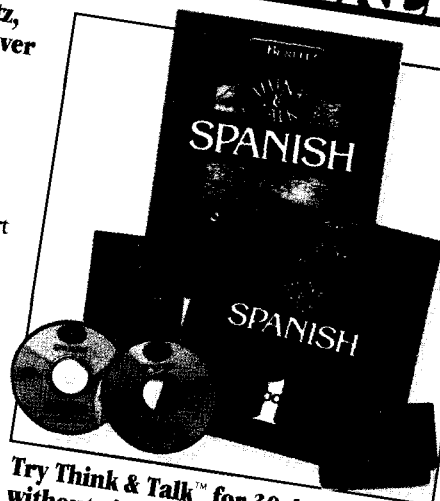
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FROM THE EDITOR

Quota Queens

■ Impressed that Senator Carol Moseley Braun is promoting, and Attorney General Janet Reno privately lobbying for, the Racial Justice in Sentencing Bill (which introduces racial quotas into criminal sentencing), I hit upon a subversive thought: why not *gender* quotas in sentencing?

Very few women are serving prison sentences for mugging or rape. Yet the logic of quotas suggests that since women are 51 per cent of the population, there should be a "target" or "guideline" stipulating that 51 per cent of inmates should be female.

Admittedly, women commit far fewer muggings and rapes than men. But to allow the female (or ethnic) percentage of criminals sentenced for such crimes to be determined by how many women (or people of color) were actually found guilty of committing them would violate the whole statistical logic of quotas as applied in college entrance, workplace hiring, etc.

To be sure, "disparate impact" poses a real problem. Since violent crimes committed by men *vastly* outnumber those committed by women, some "innocent" women might have to be imprisoned to keep the numbers proportionate. But, hey, are we serious about justice or not?

Happily, Miss Reno is likely to dismiss such nitpicking objections to quotas. After all, she got her own job through one.

■ "Come now, let's not get purist. If the objector and the objectee come to terms, that is universally accepted as legitimate in the political game . . ."

Who said that about what? President Clinton's hotshot lawyer, Robert Bennett, on the withdrawal of Paula Jones's charges following her appointment as Ambassador to Lichtenstein? No, not yet anyway.

The correct answer is Judge Johann Kriegler, chairman of South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission, explaining why he was letting the political parties decide how many votes

each of them had really got after numerous irregularities had disrupted the counting of ballots. (Think of it as racial quotas in voting.)

If you guessed wrong, don't feel too bad. A Nexis search suggests that this quotation—though it appeared in the British press—somehow never got into the American media at all. Indeed, many U.S. reports managed to suggest, quite falsely, that the irregularities were confined to Natal (incidentally explaining why Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha party did much better than the U.S. media had predicted).

Now, a botched election is probably better than no election. And we must hope that Nelson Mandela's generous theme of reconciliation will shape the new government's policy.

But if American journalists think their role is to celebrate rather than report ANC rule, how will we know?

■ Jeffrey Stambovsky of Upper Nyack, N.Y., has sent me a very funny parody of the Beatles' "Eleanor Rigby," from which this is an excerpt:

Hillary Clinton

Picks up a check

*From a broker who might be a thief,
Buys some more beef.*

Doing her taxes,

Goes for the maximum

Write-off on Bill's BVDs.

Nobody sees.

All the righteous people;

Where do they all come from?

All the righteous people, etc.

Mr. Stambovsky's witty parody persuades me that it is time for another competition. But the Paula Jones case persuades me that we should restrict the topic to foreign policy.

So the usual bottle of champagne to the writer who produces the best parody of a popular song to describe the Clinton foreign policy. Mr. Stambovsky's entry is eagerly awaited.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN



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■ House ban on 19 makes of "assault weapon" not yet sure thing. Powerful Judiciary Chairman and NRA member **Jack Brooks** (D., Tex.) vows opposition in House-Senate conference. Gun ban part of Dems' emphasis on crime and welfare issues to escape "I-word" (remember **Dukakis**?) in fall races. Behind strategy is Clinton consultant **James Carville**, who nearly rescued unpopular Gov. **James Florio** (D., N.J.) in '93 with similar rightward image-making. . . . Survey of 3,200 police chiefs shows 94 per cent think **Brady** gun law will not affect crime; 97 per cent cite justice system that "coddles" criminals. . . . Clinton health-care plan hitting more snafus than Denver-airport opening. Latest is key defection by Senators **David Boren** (D., Okla.) and **Bob Kerrey** (D., Neb.) to "Clinton Lite" plan of Sen. **John Chafee** (R., R.I.). . . . Boren's retirement raising more hopes for GOP control of Senate. But House picture also improving. May 10 win by **Frank Lucas** (R., Okla.), in CD held for 20 years by Dems, fueling optimism. . . . Trying to cushion perception of Dem losses, congressional campaign chief **Vic Fazio** (D., Calif.) has highball guess of 25-to-30-seat loss. Still too early, says Minority Whip **Newt Gingrich**, who quips "5-to-50

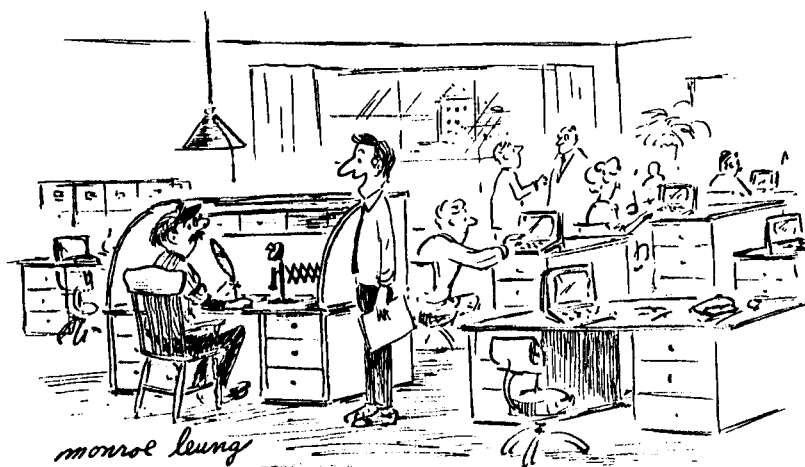
gain." "We're ahead in the retirement derby," says **Tony Blankley**, Gingrich's savvy press aide, who notes this year's first: GOP contesting more seats than Dems. Obvious pickup possibilities: Fla. (2), tobacco-belt's North Carolina (2 or 3), and Calif. (3 to 6), where abandonment by **Bush** campaign held down vote in '92. . . . Usual GOP lack of PAC "surge money" in October may be eased by a how-to book on independent expenditures that **Rush Limbaugh** is pushing—*Taxpayer's Tea Party*, by **Sharon Cooper**, from Baen Publishing (Riverdale, N.Y.). . . . Also just out: bio of conservative Sen. **Orrin Hatch** by **Lee Roderick**—"monumental" (**Helene Thomas**), "terrific" (**Jack Anderson**), "engrossing" (**WFB**). . . . Tax Freedom Day for nation was May 5, with government taking 34.2 per cent of average income, highest since '81 (**Jimmy Carter's** last fiscal year). Earliest state liberations were in Alabama (April 22) and Tennessee (April 23), with latest being in **Lowell Weicker's** Connecticut (May 22) and **Mario Cuomo's** New York (May 26).

■ Strange liaisons in **Paula Jones's** sexual-harassment case: her attorneys seeking support of liberal National Organization for Women (NOW), while

Clinton's lawyer is **Robert Bennett**, brother of conservative **William Bennett**, and former **Cap Weinberger** defender. . . . CNN news featured GOP Sen. **Bob Packwood** (who faces similar charges) complaining media are investigating Jones but not his accusers. . . . White House's counterstrategy clear: Democratic consultant **Bob Beckel** (on CNN's *Crossfire*) and former Clinton aide **Betsey Wright** (on ABC) charge Jones is tool of "right wing" and "conservatives." White House aides cite public distaste for sex charges and polls showing similar allegations actually helped Clinton in '92 New Hampshire primary.

■ **Sotheby's** auction of British traitor **Kim Philby's** effects includes battered Homburg and typed speech text to KGB "comrades" calling CIA agents "wolves." Sale of CIA traitor **Aldrich Ames's** library included **Tom Clancy's** *Red Storm Rising*, about USSR defeat in WW III. . . . Russian Intelligence Service, successor to KGB, styming efforts of Gulag victim **Olga Ivinskaya** (**Boris Pasternak's** inspiration for Lara in *Dr. Zhivago*) to get papers Pasternak left her. Moving story by **Fred Hiatt** (*Washington Post*) quotes her: "Peaceful and unpunished, the former executioners walk our land while the victims of the totalitarian regime are consigned to oblivion." . . . **Boris Yeltsin** is bringing back **Brezhnev**-style kissing at Russky public functions. . . . Hong Kong's Chief Secretary, **Mrs. Anson Chan**, told official Washington nobody has more interest in Chinese human rights than Colony, slated for 1997 return to China, but warned against revoking Mainland's trade status. State Dept. should use trade rules to get Chinese pressure on North Korea over A-arms, says **Bob Dole**. . . . More conspiracy theories in Mexico after assassination of Tijuana police chief **José Benitez**, who was probing April killing of presidential candidate **Luis Colosio**. . . . Booted Clinton envoy to Haiti, **Lawrence A. Pezzullo**, was Carter's chief negotiator in setting up Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in '80.

■ Dept. of Education now assesses White House demands with "Riley Rule," derived from question asked by Secretary **Richard Riley**: "How old was the person calling?"



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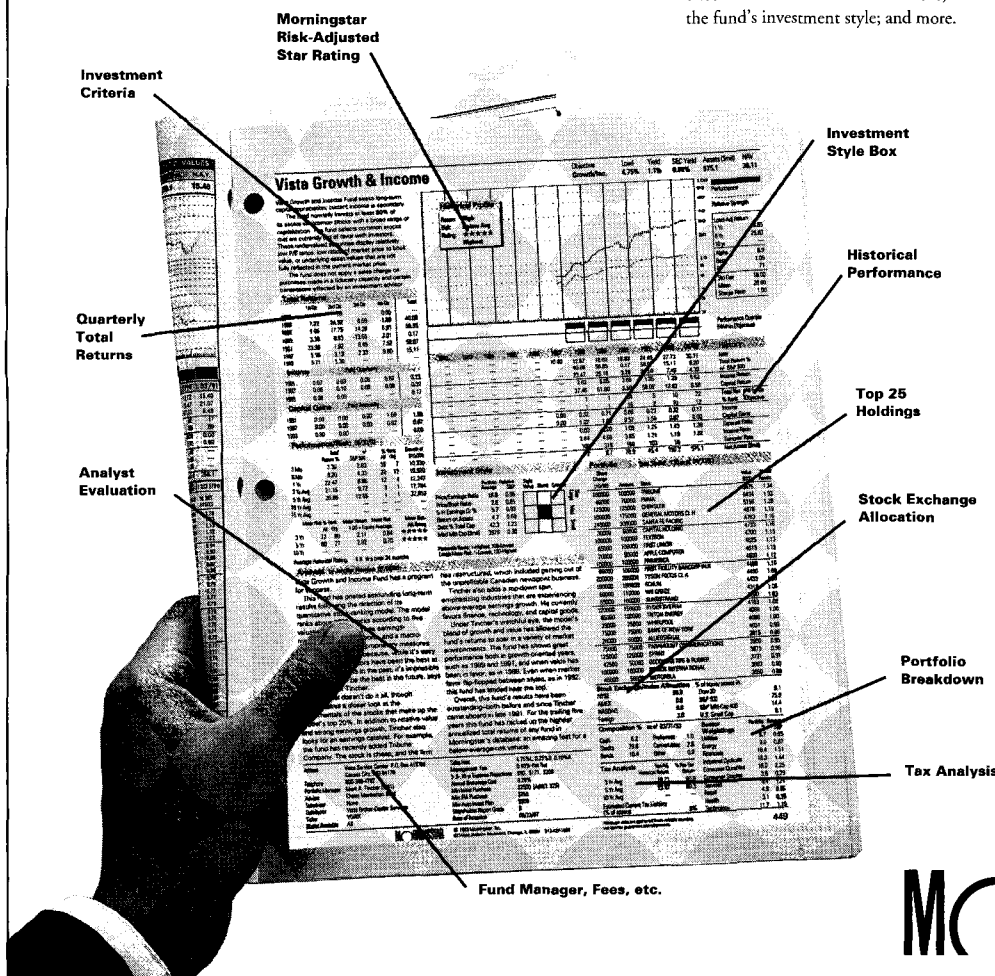
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MORNINGSTAR

THE WEEK

■ If Paula Jones really wants damages and an apology from Bill Clinton, she's going about it the wrong way. She should go on a hunger strike.

■ Much in Washington hinges on semantics. For example, the Racial Justice Act—which demands statistical parity (quotas) in capital sentencing—by its very name allows Senator Carol Moseley Braun to demand, “How can anybody be against racial justice?” Republicans should call this bluff and reject Democrats’ hints that they would be willing to drop some of the bill’s provisions (e.g., applying Racial Justice retroactively to every death-row inmate) in exchange for acquiescence. This act embodies a principle so obnoxious that its faintest whiff should drive Republicans into the principled opposition that persuaded all but five of them to vote against it in the House. The next question will be: Who can possibly oppose a crime bill? But the bill is less a program than a slogan. In the House version, \$8 billion goes to social programs from job training to midnight basketball leagues—urban pork. The bill’s vaunted 100,000 new cops are a nice gesture, but since many localities won’t be able to afford these partially funded positions, an empty one. And there are outright monstrosities like the Senate version’s Violence Against Women Act (inspired by Andrea Dworkin), which targets not rapists but judges with unfeminist attitudes. Democrats may call this seizing the crime issue; it looks more like bribing the criminals to take a vacation. Republicans should oppose this Democratic evasion—and, when it passes anyway, hold the Democrats to the test of better crime statistics between now and 1996.

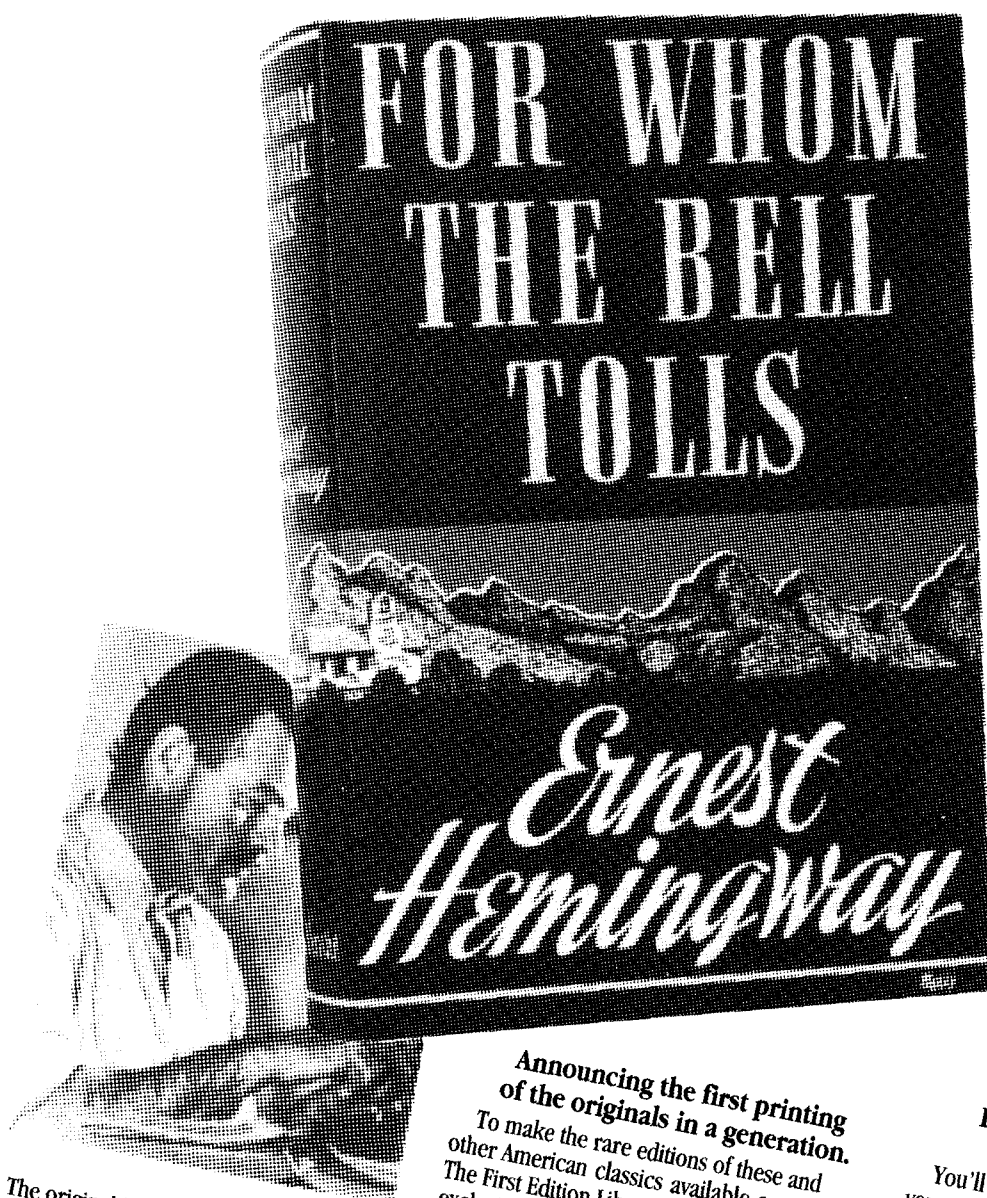
■ There’s a chance, albeit slim, that the House will vote on substantive budget cuts later this year. The legislative vehicle for such an un-congressional act is the “A to Z” bill—named for its authors, Robert Andrews (D., N.J.) and Bill Zeff (R., N.H.). Co-sponsored by 229 members (including 56 Democrats), it mandates at least 58 hours of debate during which members can offer line-item budget cuts, with ensuing up-or-down votes. Given the terrifying prospect of less federal spending, Tom Foley & Co. have aggressively opposed the bill. So its sponsors filed a discharge petition on May 4 to force the proposal onto the House floor. Within two days 158 members

had signed up. This is a healthy start, but it is still far from the 218 names required; and it includes fifty fewer Democrats than co-sponsored the bill—heigh-ho. While the search for more signatures goes on, Democrats Charlie Stenholm (Tex.) and Tim Penny (Minn.), who back the bill but have yet to sign the petition, are negotiating with the leadership to bring a scaled-down A to Z to the floor, threatening to take with them a score of Democrats if some compromise isn’t reached. A victory for the budget-cutters remains a long shot. But the prospect of a November hanging could concentrate enough congressional minds to swing the issue.

■ Bill Clinton told a town-hall meeting that he had been subject to “more assault than any previous President.” Richard Nixon was not long in his grave before he rolled over.

■ New York State Republicans will pick their candidate to replace Mario Cuomo the last week in May. Here is a nine-point platform. 1) Cut taxes across the board—not just for favored businesses, a typical insider strategy. Taxes and fees have risen by more than a billion dollars a year, every year since 1989. Thanks to Christine Whitman (who won on this plank), New Jersey taxes will tumble. New York must follow suit. 2) Cut spending across the board, especially on education, Medicaid, and welfare. These are all liberal sacred cows, but Republican governors in liberal states (Thompson, Engler, Weld) have made hay by doing so. The candidate can put points 1 and 2 in a nutshell: You will spend your money more wisely than we will. 3) Mario Cuomo’s vetoes of the death penalty have been an affront to democratic processes, and to moral common sense. Sign it. 4) Junk executive orders establishing racial and sexual-orientation quotas. 5) Let agency-shop





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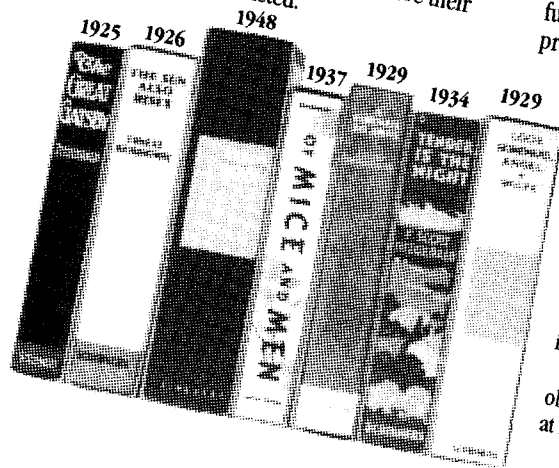
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laws (which require public employees to pay union dues) and rent-control laws lapse. 6) Eliminate state special-interest offices (Black Affairs, etc.) which are essentially outreach for Democratic voting blocs. 7) Issue an executive order banning discrimination against, or for, any group in state hiring; this will attack the affirmative-action hydra. 8) Promise to ram school vouchers through the legislature. 9) End all state financing of abortions, and dare the Washington crowd to compel you to pay. 10) (optional) Pledge to keep your diaries to yourself.

■ One of the more odious aspects of the Clinton health plan is the threatened prison sentence for anyone seeking treatment outside his government-assigned health alliance. But we hear the government of Singapore has appealed to the Clintons to reduce the prison term from 15 years to 10.

■ North Korea says it will allow international inspectors to witness the refueling of its nuclear reactor at Yongbyon. This has sent the *New York Times* editorial board into ecstasy. However, the International Atomic Energy Agency, which would conduct the inspection, has refused the invitation—because North Korea continues to deny the inspectors' right to make tests at the reactor site to get a more complete picture of whether fuel has been diverted. I.e., it's another North Korean stonewall, buying more time for Kim Il-sung to complete work on his Bomb. Meanwhile, the master strategists in the White House focus their effort on the great threat to the free world from Haiti.

■ Hungary's erstwhile Communist Party, re-named the Socialists, has made an electoral comeback, winning a plurality of 33 per cent in the first round of parliamentary balloting. As in Poland (and Russia), the dislocations of the transition to a market economy have been painful—with unemployment, corruption, crime, and a general feeling of drift. For what it's worth, the new "Socialists" forswear any return to Communism, which remains thoroughly discredited. They declare their commitment to the free market, to a tough stabilization program, and to real

welfare reform. The test of their good faith will be their actual economic performance in office and— even more important—their willingness to subject themselves to the people's judgment in the next parliamentary election four years hence. But at least they *sound* better than the Republicans.

■ Occasional *NR* contributor Antonio Martino has been named Italy's foreign minister. Good news for Italy, and for free-marketeers around the world.

■ A convicted spy has been released from prison early because he has gotten fat and feels depressed. Richard Miller, a Soviet agent, was released by a Los Angeles judge after serving nine years of a twenty-year sentence. He thus becomes not only the first FBI man to be convicted of spying, but also the first man to eat his way out of prison.

■ The Federal Government's fuel-economy regulations are back in court. The Competitive Enterprise Institute is challenging the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration's denial that there is any trade-off between automobile fuel economy and safety. Scientific studies repeatedly show that people who have accidents in small, light cars suffer worse injuries and more deaths than those in larger, heavier vehicles. In 1992, when CEI first took the NHTSA to court for failing to spell out the safety implications of stricter fuel-economy standards, the D.C. Circuit Court issued a blistering ruling, accusing the agency of "fudged analysis" and "statistical legerdemain," and ordered the NHTSA to reconsider its position. Far from doing so, the NHTSA hews to the environmentalist position that energy saving comes without loss of safety. In its court-ordered "Reconsideration," NHTSA says that new technologies give car makers the flexibility to meet new fuel-economy standards without downsizing—and that cars have not been made lighter than they otherwise would have been by the federal standards, since computers, cameras, and other gear have gotten lighter without regulation. Which leaves the question: if the fuel-economy standards have so little bite, why bother with them?

■ An April 21 news special on ABC contained sentiments we thought we'd never hear on TV, except from Rush Limbaugh. John Stossel of *20/20* hosted the hour and a half of entertaining, myth-puncturing common sense titled "Are We Scaring Ourselves to Death?" From unjustified crime jitters to food scares to environmentalist shakedowns, Mr. Stossel proceeded systematically. Some highlights: Ralph Nader warning about the peril of rugs in the home (yes, rugs), and self-deprecating archive shots of Mr. Stossel as a scaremongering young reporter ("Dioxin is *really* dangerous!"). The show concluded that the

For the Sports-Minded

Pete Wilson, bugged by empty stands
And rude remarks from marching bands,
Is gaining yards down after down
On butter-fingers Kathleen Brown,
Whose fickle fans desert *en masse*,
Thanks to his immigration pass.

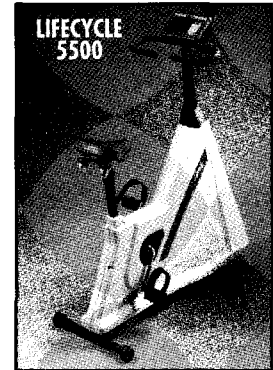
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danger posed by poverty is magnitudes greater than that posed by, say, dioxin; and government regulations tend to make a nation poorer. Thus, taking relative risks into account, much regulation costs more lives than it saves. The words of a physician in Aspen skillfully stated—or rather, understated—Mr. Stossel's main point: "Sometimes we need to protect ourselves against government."

■ **SMOKING GUN DEPT.:** In California, 22-year-old Daphnye Luster was convicted of killing with a shotgun a fellow restaurant patron who had complained that she was smoking in a cigarette-free zone. We see here the criminal mind revealed in all its heedless illogic. Under California law, had Miss Luster merely blown away the other woman but not lit up a cigarette, she might have gotten away with it.

■ The venerable Rolling Stones are launching another tour this summer. It's good news for people who thought they'd have to wait for the sequel to *Jurassic Park* to see another dinosaur show.

Have You Met Miss Jones?

ONE MONTH ago, NATIONAL REVIEW ran an interview with Paula Jones ("Missing Person," by Harold Johnson, April 18). Our interest in her case, both then and now that she has filed suit, was in the hypocrisy shown by reporters, professional feminists, and liberals in general. As Alan Dershowitz put it, "By any standard of judgment, Mrs. Jones's charges against Mr. Clinton are far more serious, have far more prima-facie corroboration, and are far more consistent with other allegations against the alleged perpetrator than were [Anita] Hill's charges against [Clarence] Thomas."

We know how the liberal/media/feminist apparatus responded to Anita Hill, who has gone from being a cause célèbre to a cult figure. "As women and as lawyers," went one typical tribute, "we must never again shy from raising our voices against sexual harassment. All women who care about equal opportunity—about integrity and morality in the workplace—are in Professor Anita Hill's debt" (Hillary Clinton, 1992 American Bar Association luncheon). But when the alleged perpetrator was a liberal President, the voices were lowered.

Indeed, when Mrs. Jones first made her charges, they were lowered to the point of silence. Though she gave a press conference in February, the major media failed to cover it until the eve of her suit; the *Washington Post* sat on a long story for months. Over at the National Organization for Women, Patricia Ireland had to be bullied into placing one phone call to Mrs. Jones; it didn't go through, and

Miss Ireland didn't try again. When legal action forced the press's hand, liberal journalists, taking their cue from the White House, gave a suitably spin-doctored version of the case. A sister of Paula Jones was quoted endlessly to the effect that Mrs. Jones had told her that she "smelled money" because of the incident. Yet the sister's full account, which not all such reports quoted, states clearly that a sexual approach was made, when Mr. Clinton denies that he ever met Paula Jones.

Once again, we enter the world of personal accusations and public consequences, of the private as the political. It is a world the liberals made, and some of them, like Richard Cohen in the *Washington Post*, now ruefully acknowledge that responsibility. Perhaps the experience will encourage liberals to rethink some of their assumptions about man-woman relationships, and their obsession with litigation as a remedy to all ills. But conservatives have an equal responsibility not to abandon in Mrs. Jones's case the proper skepticism they showed toward Miss Hill's charges. President Clinton is entitled to the presumption of innocence until the case is settled one way or another. And it would be best for the country if it could be settled quickly.

Republicans would be mistaken if they thought Fornigate their ticket to power. Scandal weakens enemies; it rarely strengthens the scandalmongers. As Bill Kristol reminds us, the Democratic Party that swept to office in 1974 and 1976 because of Watergate was buried by the Reagan revolution half a decade later. That was because the Republicans used their time in the shade to lay down some hard-edged policy positions, while the Democrats frittered away their opportunity with idle talk about morality and malaise.

Even before the next elections, the Republicans face crucial policy challenges. Though the Clinton health plan is dead, the Clinton Lite spin-offs are not. Deceptive and trivial crime and welfare-reform proposals stand before Congress. In foreign policy, Mr. Clinton's weakness and lack of focus has begun to have bad effects in Bosnia, Haiti, and North Korea. Yet the GOP has been missing in action on all these fronts. The job of a political party is to lead charges, not to point fingers.

Who Whom?

BY THE TIME these words are read, "we the people" may know who has been selected by President Clinton to succeed Harry Blackmun on the Supreme Court. Given the short lists now circulating, this person, in all likelihood, will be reasonably learned in the law and of respectable character. He or she will be described as a "moder-

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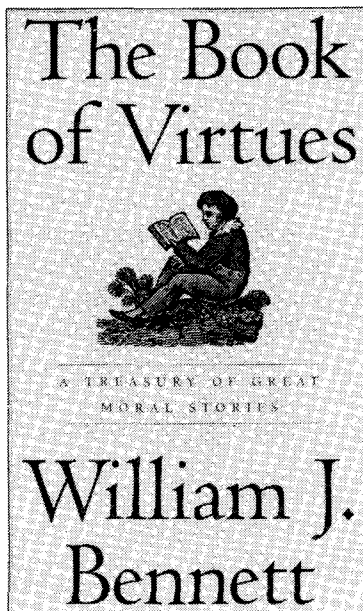
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ate” or as an “economic conservative,” because he or she once strayed from a normal progressive jurisprudence to interpret some statute in a manner favorable to a business interest. The nominee will then be subject to a hearing process at which senators will gather to celebrate his or her “firstness” (Arkansan, Hispanic, black woman, Secretary of the Interior), and will then confirm him or her to the High Court in short order.

The new Justice will then proceed for the rest of his or her life to decide matters which will determine the quality of life for the rest of us—matters such as whether crime rates will increase, the nature of private property rights, the role of religious values in American life, the relationships among the races, the extent to which local communities are allowed to govern their own affairs, whether areas of civil society remain beyond the control of government: in short, whether America is to be a great or a mediocre country. “We the people” will never be asked whether we want to transform ourselves to fit Richard Arnold’s or Amalya Kearse’s ideals more closely. Indeed, we will never know what those ideals are, because our representatives in the Senate will not think to ask.

It is one thing not to ask when the range of public decision-making is narrow and well circumscribed. It is another thing not to ask when, in the guise of giving meaning to “due process” and “equal protection” and “general welfare,” a public decision-maker can transform society without check. “We the people” are at least entitled to some sense of the fate that a prospective judge holds in store for us and our posterity. Instead, look for a confirmation process forgotten the day after it concludes.

Weather-Vane Politics

PRESIDENT Clinton’s “new policy” regarding Haiti is one part weakness, one part cynical politics. Reacting to a hunger strike by activist Randall Robinson and to criticism from the Black Caucus, Mr. Clinton announced harsher economic sanctions on Haiti and weaker controls on would-be Haitian immigrants. He fired the career diplomat who was Haiti coordinator and replaced him with the retired black congressman William Gray.

The political result is what Mr. Clinton wanted: Mr. Robinson called off his hunger strike, and, for the moment, the Left is warily saying the Administration’s Haiti policy is “moving in the right direction.” And it appears that politics is, still, all the White House cares about. Bill Gray has little foreign-policy experience and no familiarity with Haiti. In fact he has nothing to recommend him for this new job except his presumed ability to keep the

Black Caucus quiet; but that is his real assignment.

It is predictable how Haitians will react. The military, seeing Mr. Clinton wilt before a hunger strike, will not be terrified by his additional threats against them. Exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, newly embraced by an Administration that is afraid of critics on its Left, will be even less inclined to compromise. On the ground in Haiti, the tougher embargo will make life even more difficult for the poor, and the immigration-policy changes will seem to open the door to America a bit wider. The result will be more emigration.

It is obvious, then, that Mr. Clinton’s “new policy” is a quick fix, not a solution. It might at best gain the President a few months, as Mr. Gray wards off critics and the new immigration procedures are tried. But if American law is properly enforced, the Immigration Service will find what it has always found: over 90 per cent of Haitians are economic migrants, not political refugees. This will present the President with another choice: return the others to Haiti, spurring new protests, or let them all stay in the United States, which means losing Florida in November. Instead of confronting the Haiti conundrum in May, then, the President might be able to postpone doing so until late summer or the fall.

The truly cynical will note that summer is the good weather season, when small boats are most likely to make it from Haiti to Florida. If Mr. Clinton can get by with returning Haitians during this period, he will have passed the point of maximum danger of mass migration. And Mr. Gray’s contract is for 130 days, neatly carrying him into the hurricane season, when weather, not American law, will keep Haitians at home.

Most likely, it will not work. Boat builders on Haiti’s coasts are hard at it, and by early June migration levels will be much higher. Then Mr. Clinton will have to face reality once again, and either turn away from Father Aristide or use American troops to bring him home and enforce his writ.

But this respite can be used to advantage. Congress should tell Mr. Clinton to forget using Ameri-

The President Looks Abroad

Like Kissinger, he strategized;

Like Scowcroft, he blew smoke,
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The wonking as he spoke;
His mastery and manner would

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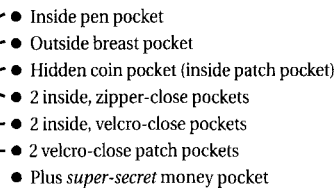
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can soldiers as Aristide's private army. We do not face a national-security problem in Haiti, and the use of American military forces to solve Mr. Clinton's political difficulties should be stopped cold.

Cape of Good Hope?

NELSON MANDELA'S inauguration as president of South Africa was an event calculated to make the most skeptical observer believe, at least for a moment, in the possibility of a successful multi-ethnic democracy in the new republic. It was, beyond any carping doubt, a joyous occasion. Its theme of racial reconciliation was brilliantly embodied in the mixture of races and costumes on the podium. The two new vice presidents, F. W. de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki, policeman and fugitive respectively until a few years ago, shook hands as colleagues. Above all, the new president himself spoke powerfully on the need for all races to discover a common identity as South Africans. What lent his words special authority was everyone's knowledge that this remarkable man had apparently emerged from 27 years in prison without bitterness and displaying the most sophisticated political skills.

Such skills will certainly be needed to make "the South African experiment" a success. That experiment—in effect, the liberal prescription for South Africa—is that the country should be governed as a unitary state by a government that is for the moment a coalition of the major national and tribal groups but is primarily dominated by the largest tribe, the Xhosa, and by white Marxists. Last month's election makes the difficulties plain. There was massive African-style fraud and intimidation and a 36-hour collapse of the count. This was resolved when the ANC agreed not to steal a two-thirds majority, enough for absolute power, and to yield Natal to the rival Inkatha Party. Whether this was motivated by fear of an imminent Zulu rising, or a calculation that the other parties would be more readily reconciled to absolute rule by the African National Congress if it arrived in stages, or a genuine desire for national unity will become clear in the next few years. Meanwhile the Western Cape was easily won by an alliance of Cape Dutch and Cape Colored, who together constitute a local majority. Natal is now a redoubt of resistance to the ANC central government. And this is before the ANC imposes its wealth-redistribution schemes.

The truth is that, despite our own multiculturalists' mantras, diversity is not strength. It is weakness and potential conflict. Once it became clear that the Afrikaners were to be deposed, South Africans of all colors would have been better served by a very loose federal system, perhaps including elements of

partition. As it is, Yugoslavia will be a permanent danger—and a permanent reminder that nation-building can be vigorously pursued by a ruthless central government for almost fifty years and still fall apart under ethnic pressures.

Indeed, a common national identity—such as Nelson Mandela hopes to construct—can be deconstructed in a society as infatuated as the U.S. is with multiculturalism and ethnic diversity. For, ironically, while their indignation at South Africa mounted, American liberals were simultaneously giving tacit consent to the total inversion of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, replacing the ideal of color-blind public policy in the U.S. with government-enforced discrimination in the form of "affirmative action" racial quotas. This is not made morally acceptable because the victims are white. It means that the problem of ethnic differences in an open society—what Gunnar Myrdal called the "American dilemma"—has yet to find a sure solution, either here or in South Africa.

Major Minor

B RITISH voters have sent a powerful message of discontent to Prime Minister John Major and his Conservative Party. But will the Tories listen? In the recent local elections, the Tories suffered a stunning setback, pulling only 27 per cent of the vote and dropping to third place behind Labour's 41 per cent and the Liberal Democrats' 28 per cent. Most commentators blame Mr. Major's lackluster leadership, or splits in the party over European integration, or a series of embarrassing scandals. Undoubtedly all these factors are partly to blame for the Tories' defeat. But it should also be recalled that during the 1992 election campaign, Mr. Major pledged not to raise taxes. It was thought at the time to be the main reason for the Tory victory over a high-tax Labour Party. Then he and Chancellor of the Exchequer Kenneth Clarke promptly gave the UK its *biggest tax increase in peacetime history*. The tax hike became fully effective this April, and Britons promptly sent their electoral message of dissent in early May.

These tax increases may also be smothering what looked like a promising economic recovery. Car sales have recently slumped, and overall retail sales have slowed from a 4.4 per cent yearly gain as of last July to 3.5 per cent this March. Members of the Confederation of British Industry recently registered a decline in optimism. While industrial production had a healthy 4.9 per cent gain in March, unemployment remains high at 9.7 per cent, and real GDP growth has averaged a paltry 0.5 per cent per year since 1990. Sound familiar? George Bush was fired by

American voters under a similar indictment, with Canada's Brian Mulroney suffering the same fate, virtually destroying his Progressive Conservative Party. In Germany, Helmut Kohl also broke his tax pledge, and the CDU-CSU has suffered badly in provincial elections. In France, conservative Edouard Balladur, who also raised taxes, lost his nerve on key reforms such as privatization and youth wage reforms, pulling back in the face of hostile demonstrations from unions and leftist students.

Let us call it the Tory Disease, afflicting national leaders who campaign successfully as conservatives, then govern unsuccessfully as social democrats. In the post-Cold War period voters—no longer wedded to establishments whose claim to legitimacy was that they would protect us from Communism—have grown unforgiving toward politicians who break campaign promises. But the establishments continue to equate "governing" with raising taxes. Seldom has

the West seen such a wide gap between an arrogant political class and a populist electorate. If the Tory disease persists, look for voters to keep firing incumbents until they get what they voted for.

Karl Hess, R I P

IN HIS seventy years Karl Hess, who died on April 22, had been a junior-high-school dropout, pilot, would-be arms smuggler, motorcycle racer, urban fish farmer, reporter, metal sculptor, assistant to corporate tycoons, consultant to the Black Panthers, resident scholar at the right-most think tank of the 1950s and the left-most think tank of the 1960s, anarchist, tax resister, welder, and, most famously, Barry Goldwater's speechwriter in the 1964 campaign—the man credited (incorrectly, Karl al-

POLITICAL NOTEBOOK

■ **OKLAHOMA:** Few were surprised by Democrat David Boren's announcement that he would vacate his Senate seat at the end of this session—two years before his term expires. To his credit, Boren was a thorn in Bill Clinton's side—he stressed cuts in spending and blocked, with his swing position on the Finance Committee, attempts at including an energy tax in the President's budget. In fact, his lifetime ACU rating (55) is better than that of several *Republican* senators—Specter (38), Jeffords (28), and Hatfield (26).

The seat will be filled by special election rather than appointment, and Representatives Bill Brewster and Dave McCurdy, Boren-style moderates, are likely to be Democratic candidates for the empty seat.

The line-up on the Republican side will depend largely on when Democratic Governor David Walters decides to hold the election. Legal maneuvers would be required to hold it in November, but that can't be ruled out.

J. C. Watts, the formidable chairman of the Oklahoma Corporation Commission, is likely to run no matter when the election is. If it is set for early 1995—i.e., after this year's congressional elections—he could be joined by Representatives James Inhofe and Ernest Istook. They would be unlikely to chance a November

election, which would mean giving up their House seats.

All three Republicans are dedicated tax cutters, deregulators, and pro-lifers. Any of the three would work to obstruct ClintonCare (or a close cousin), while advocating a free-market approach. Any of the three would be likely to achieve ACU ratings in the 90s.

It is always difficult choosing among similarly good candidates. That said, Istook, who has served only one (successful) term in the House, and Inhofe, who had a close race in a heavily Republican district in 1992 and might have difficulty winning a Senate race in a state that leans Democratic, would both do best to remain in the House, where they are valuable assets.

Watts has an appealing personality and, unlike the others, has won statewide office. Being black, he can attract some normally Democratic voters, while retaining his own with his impressive background as football star, youth minister, and Corporation Commissioner. We encourage him to run.

■ **OHIO:** Last fall, "Political Notebook" urged Ohio Republicans to vote for Mike DeWine over the liberal Bernadine Healy in the state's sena-

torial primary. That primary was held earlier this month, and we are pleased to report that they took our advice.

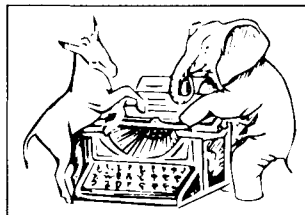
DeWine is tough on taxes, he's pro-life, and he won't go for the left-wing line on health care. As lieutenant governor he has focused on crime—certain to be a campaign issue in November. He is popular statewide, winning the four-way GOP primary with over 50 per cent of the vote.

A Healy candidacy would have relied on her health-care expertise to make her liberalism appear more attractive than that of Democrat Joel Hyatt. Republicans are better off for her loss.

Hyatt (son-in-law to Howard Metzenbaum and favorite son to the Ohio Democratic machine) was touted as the odds-on favorite in both primary and general elections. He won last week by 2 percentage points. His opponent successfully painted him as a liberal "mega-lawyer"—never good for a politician.

DeWine's close ties to his well-liked boss, Governor George Voinovich, who is also on the ballot in November, will only boost his popularity. DeWine is currently the underdog, but so was George Allen in Virginia.

—GEOFFREY MORRIS



ways insisted) with "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Karl became a libertarian folk hero in the 1960s when he declared that he would pay no federal taxes, and then again in the 1970s when he moved to West Virginia to live by barter. He came to laugh at himself—the IRS made life miserable for him, and he found that living by barter didn't work. But if he laughed at himself, I wouldn't say that he regretted

either decision. Karl was not given to regretting.

The size of his *oeuvre* is modest. Like Thomas Jefferson, he never got around to spelling out his political philosophy in one magisterial work. Karl was more attracted to the parable than to the syllogism. He was downright dismissive about elaborate, icily logical libertarian systems, and he liked to let his mind sprawl over the whole messy range of problems that the human condition presented. He was always flatteringly attentive to what the other fellow had to

RIGHT DATA

Are We Undertaxed?

IT LEAVES the tax burden in the United States far less onerous than those in most other Western nations. If the electorate is serious . . . about eliminating the deficit . . . it will eventually have to accept far more than this modest effort to increase revenues."

New York Times correspondent R. W. Apple's analysis of the 1993 budget act is only half right. The U.S. does indeed have the lowest average tax rate in the industrialized world. Our budget deficit, however, compares favorably to those of the high-tax countries:

	TAX AND CONSEQUENCES				
	Tax Revenues		Deficit	GDP Per Capita	Employment Growth
	1983	1993	1993	1992	1983-93
	(as % of GDP)				
U.S.	29.9%	30.8%	3.6%	\$23,637	16.9%
Japan	29.6	33.2	1.0	19,619	12.4
UK	41.4	36.7	8.2	15,979	5.3
Canada	38.4	42.7	7.0	20,139	15.3
Italy	38.0	45.1	9.7	16,428	0.6
Germany	45.3	46.8	4.0	18,271	6.9
France	48.2	48.3	6.0	17,350	1.6

Source: OECD, U.S. Dept. of Commerce

Tax revenue as a percentage of GDP rose significantly in most European countries during the past decade, thanks to widespread cuts in marginal tax rates. The additional revenues went mainly to support social-insurance and national-health programs, however, leaving deficits as a percentage of GDP generally larger than our own. The futility of raising taxes to reduce budget imbalances seems universal: a study of 19 industrial countries by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development found that the countries where revenue increased most were just as likely to have large

budget deficits as countries with much smaller changes in revenue.

The "undertaxed" U.S. enjoys the world's highest living standard, as measured by real GDP per capita. U.S. employment rose nearly 17 per cent between 1983 and 1993, dwarfing the minuscule rise in Europe. No OECD country experienced a better combination of income, employment, and productivity growth during the past decade.

We rank a distant last in one vital area, however. Over the past two decades Americans saved an average of 6.8 per cent of disposable income. Japan had a personal savings rate for this period of 17.3 per cent; West Germany's was 12.7 per cent; Canada's was 12.5 per cent.

Our tax system may be to blame. Although the average tax rate is lower in the U.S., we rely more heavily on income taxes and offer fewer incentives for personal saving. Our capital-gains tax rate—28 per cent—exceeds that of all other OECD countries except Australia and the UK. And those two countries tax only the real gains, adjusting for inflation. The U.S. is the only nation to tax corporate income twice—when earned by businesses, and when distributed to shareholders. Germany gives shareholders a credit against personal income taxes to offset taxes paid at the corporate level.

Britain, France, Italy, Canada, and Japan give a partial credit or deduction for dividends.

The U.S. is also the only country that gives a full deduction for mortgage interest. In Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands homeowners add an imputed return on housing to their taxable income, thus diminishing real estate's edge over corporate investment. Indeed, higher marginal tax rates in America are making real-estate borrowing more attractive, while leaving less after-tax income available for other forms of investment.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

■ As we were going to press, we learned, sadly, of the death of John Roche. His obituary will appear next issue.

say. Then he would pick up on it, saying, "It strikes me that . . ." and off he would go, spinning out an idea that often seemed aimless at first and then, suddenly, dazzlingly, made a great deal of sense. I may very well write my next book around one of Karl's insights, one that would never have occurred to me on my own. He did that sort of thing for many.

A devout Catholic as a boy, he had as completely rejected the idea of God in adulthood. Pressed, he would acknowledge that the universe is not only stranger than we know but stranger than we can imagine, and yet this man who was always ready to take another look at every other idea seemed determined not to rethink his apostasy. I doubt that it made any difference. Karl Hess was a profoundly good man by any standard, and, apart from that, I can't imagine that the Lord would be willing to deprive Himself of the pleasure of Karl's company.

—CHARLES MURRAY

Russell Kirk, R I P

IN THE next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW we will pay appropriate tribute to a figure whose death on April 29 left the conservative community desolate. He was omnipresent, coming at us from every direction. He wrote a seminal book and, for many years, a syndicated column. He lectured, gave speeches, wrote ghost stories and histories, and edited anthologies. Through it all he maintained a special presence as ever so faintly bohemian, the orthodox husband of a beautiful wife, father of four daughters, obdurately professorial in demeanor, yet those who noticed never needed to wait too long before catching the wink, in what he said, and did.

Much of all this in the issue to come, so that here, we pause merely to remark his loss, reach out our hands to one another, expressing our shared grief.

Our own association with him—and I clutch in here to the personal mode—is older than the life of NATIONAL REVIEW. I had of course read his important book, but I had not met Russell Kirk. The publication of NATIONAL REVIEW was now anticipated, to begin about a year later, and the time had come to meet him.

It was in the fall of 1954; I made the date, and flew to Michigan. I had a single objective, and I greatly feared that I would fail in it. I desired that Professor Kirk would consent, beginning with the opening issue, to contribute a regular column to NATIONAL REVIEW on doings in the academic world.



I confess I was very nervous. Although Russell was only a few years older, at 28 I felt that an entire world lay between us, the wide gulf between his learning, and my own. He was then a bachelor, and shortly after I arrived to stay as a guest at his house, Piety Hill, he took me to dinner at a neighborhood restaurant, where he promptly ordered two Tom Collinses. Emboldened by that warm aloofness which was his trademark, I put it to him directly, and his reply was instantaneous: Yes, he would write a regular column for my prospective magazine.

I was so elated by his spontaneous and generous willingness to associate his august name with that of a wizened ex-schoolboy known mostly for an iconoclastic screed directed at his alma mater, that I took to ordering more Tom Collinses, but in every case, one for each of us. The evening proceeded toward a pitch of such hilarity that, at midnight, I was barely able to drive the car back to Russell's house. On arriving, he led me to my bedroom, bade me goodnight only one second before I collapsed into my bed, to rise seven hours later and bump into Russell Kirk—only then emerging from his study. He had, in the interval since dinner, written a chapter of his history of St. Andrews University, and would catch a little sleep after he served me breakfast.

In the ensuing 25 years he never missed a deadline. At his wedding to the woman his readers resigned themselves finally to acknowledging as "the beauteous Annette," I thought that possibly the most useful gift I might give him would be a honeymoon's-length moratorium from his column, since he was off to Scotland. I stammered out the proposal to him moments before he ascended to the altar. He acknowledged it by reaching into the pocket of his morning coat and presenting me with—four columns. Perfectly typed. Perfectly edited. Perfectly executed. Not many had more direct, week-by-week knowledge of the extraordinary professionalism of

Russell Kirk, which matched that of Samuel Johnson and G. K. Chesterton.

He served us notice, a few months before our 25th anniversary in 1980, that he would discontinue his column at that point. He gave no reason for doing so, and questions weren't asked. A. J. Nock had recalled that Thoreau abandoned his pencil factory after he had achieved the exemplary pencil. What was there left to do?

In the ensuing 14 years Russell Kirk wrote many books and a hundred essays, gave a thousand speeches, and influenced the lives of another half-generation. His last day, he rose, breakfasted, sat down in his armchair, exchanged words with his wife and two of his daughters, closed his eyes, and died. Few have repaid their debt to their family, their country, and their faith so extravagantly.

—WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: Our readers
From: WFB

Mr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, the distinguished and learned Austrian, will lecture in America between October 15 and December 1. His extraordinary skills are well known to NATIONAL REVIEW readers, and his lectures figure as important events in the experience of everyone who has listened to him. For details, write to him at A-6072, Lans, Tyrol, Austria.

■ Dear Bill:

May I stick my nose under the Notes & Asides tent to extend a special thanks to the thousands of readers who have helped us by taking (and using) the National Review MasterCard? I can't imagine my counterpart at any other journal being able to boast of so many loyal and supportive subscribers.

Of course, they are doing themselves a favor too, since this card offers benefits that can't be compared to those offered by any other available credit card. But from our point of view, the crucial point is that every time the card is used *NR* gets a small share (less than 1 per cent) of the amount spent. Over the course of the year, those royalties add up, and they allow us to do things—e.g., invest in circulation—that we otherwise would not be able to do. It is an asset that we have come to rely on.

So to those who use the card, I would like to say thank you. I encourage them to use it regularly. Indeed, I encourage their wives, husbands, children, and grandchildren to use it regularly. I hope they also take advantage of the many other services offered by MBNA America, the bank that issues the card. MBNA has an ad on page 23 of this issue.

To those of our readers who don't have the card, I would like to invite them to join their fellow *NR* subscribers who do, and enjoy the card's many benefits while helping NATIONAL REVIEW. Anyone who is interested can drop me a line, and I'll send all the appropriate information.

Best,
Ed [Capano]

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

On page 24 of the April 4, 1994, issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, I read the letter from Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan on the natal statistics for 1991. In it, Senator Moynihan comments on the linear relationship between births to unmarried women and time. While one cannot dispute the fact that the number of births has increased in time, one *cannot* say that the data are best fit by a straight line. The data are initially systematically above the straight line, then they are systematically below it, and then the last four points are systematically above it. This behavior is clear evidence not only for a secular increase with time of the birth rate but possibly for cyclical behavior as well. I suspect that a much better fit to this data would be the sum of straight line and an oscillating function such as a sine or cosine. I cannot read the data off the graph very well so I cannot perform the fit and see which oscillating function is applicable. In fact, one can argue that the amplitude of the oscillation may be increasing with time, as evidenced by the last four points. This type of phenomenon (a secular trend with a superimposed oscillatory behavior whose amplitude changes) is not unusual in nature. Analysis of such behavior may uncover a deeper meaning to these statistics than that they are just increasing with time.

I am a new subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW and I enjoy the magazine thoroughly. I was reading it while I was administering my class its test today and I received a few stern looks from my students. They seem to think that it is a requirement for Berkeley faculty to hold to liberal beliefs. I just tell them that due to affirmative-action/equal-opportunity laws, Berkeley was required to hire a white, conservative male.

Sincerely,
Dr. Timothy E. Carone
Experimental Astrophysics Group
Space Sciences Laboratory
University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Dr. Carone: Thank you for your kind correction of the misused term, which will never again pass my lips when I refer to natal statistics. . . . And delighted to learn we have a subscriber at Berkeley. I am sure you have your colleagues surrounded!

—WFB



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ON THE SCENE

Heading South?

RICH LOWRY



Roberto Parada

FAIRFAX, VA.
THE Ollie North mailer decries, "A record of higher taxes, bigger government, and cooperation with liberal special-interest groups." Typical GOP attack rhetoric—except the target was a Reagan budget director. "Jim Miller is throwing mud at Ollie North to hide his *own* record," it continues, depicting Miller as a closet supporter of the NEA and bi-lingual education.

The fact that money raised from conservative retirees in Minnesota (hit up for North contributions by Richard Viguerie) is spent smearing a Reagan loyalist is just one of the ironies in Virginia this year. Politics here has become such a burlesque that the U.S. Senate's weakest incumbent, Chuck Robb, leads his likely GOP opponent, North, by 17 points in polls.

When George Allen crushed Mary Sue Terry in last year's gubernatorial race, Republicans began to think again about the re-alignment they've sought for two decades. They were

three seats away from taking both the state Senate and House. And the surviving Democrats were enacting parts of Allen's agenda pre-emptively. Republicans could smell a rout.

But now some Republicans talk of the party being torn apart. University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato outlines a scenario in which the GOP could soon hold neither of the state's seats in the U.S. Senate—they'd go to independents—and fumble away a handful of vulnerable Democratic-held congressional seats. What happened?

The short answer: Ollie North. For three years North was a relentless party-builder, raising money for almost any GOP candidate who asked. As a result, the nomination to challenge Robb seemed his for the taking—until North took to the national airwaves (*Larry King Live*, *Nightline*) to announce his candidacy, subjecting himself to a brutal pounding. The Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed calls the appearances "ritualistic suicides." They helped "build a list" of nationwide contributors, but at a price.

North sports unfavorable ratings higher than 50 per cent (with 100 per cent name recognition) and has been hovering at 33 per cent support or below in polls all year. The numbers have even conservatives nervous. "I think it's an uphill fight," says Mike Farris, the home-schooling advocate and last year's nominee for lieutenant governor. That's why there's an outside chance North could still lose the nomination.

The longer answer is that a cultural divide runs through the GOP, producing nasty county-level spats and dissension at the top. Establishment Republicans resent the activists—many unabashedly religious—introduced into the party by Farris. The feeling is

mutual. It's the "polyesters" against the "herring-bone suits," says Sabato. Or as Farris puts it, "There is a disenchantment with people who own polo ponies."

Chief pony-owner is Senator John Warner. He spurned Farris last year—possibly costing Farris his race—and is calling for an independent Republican "white knight" to run against North if he's nominated. Not popular moves among GOP activists. Warner now "has as much opportunity of being embraced by the Republicans," says Virginia Commonwealth University political scientist Robert Holsworth, "as Rush does by the ACLU." But Warner's popularity statewide is around 70 per cent. There's talk he'll run as an independent in 1996, which would be a new low in relations between the GOP's moderate and conservative wings.

By rights, the North-Miller race shouldn't have much to do with this feud. Miller, the Reagan Administration "no-man" on the budget, who actually saw the deficit decline on his watch, is just as conservative as North. Besides, it's North who ran the most "insider" White House operation since the Plumbers and owns a \$1.17-million, 194-acre estate that would do John Warner proud.

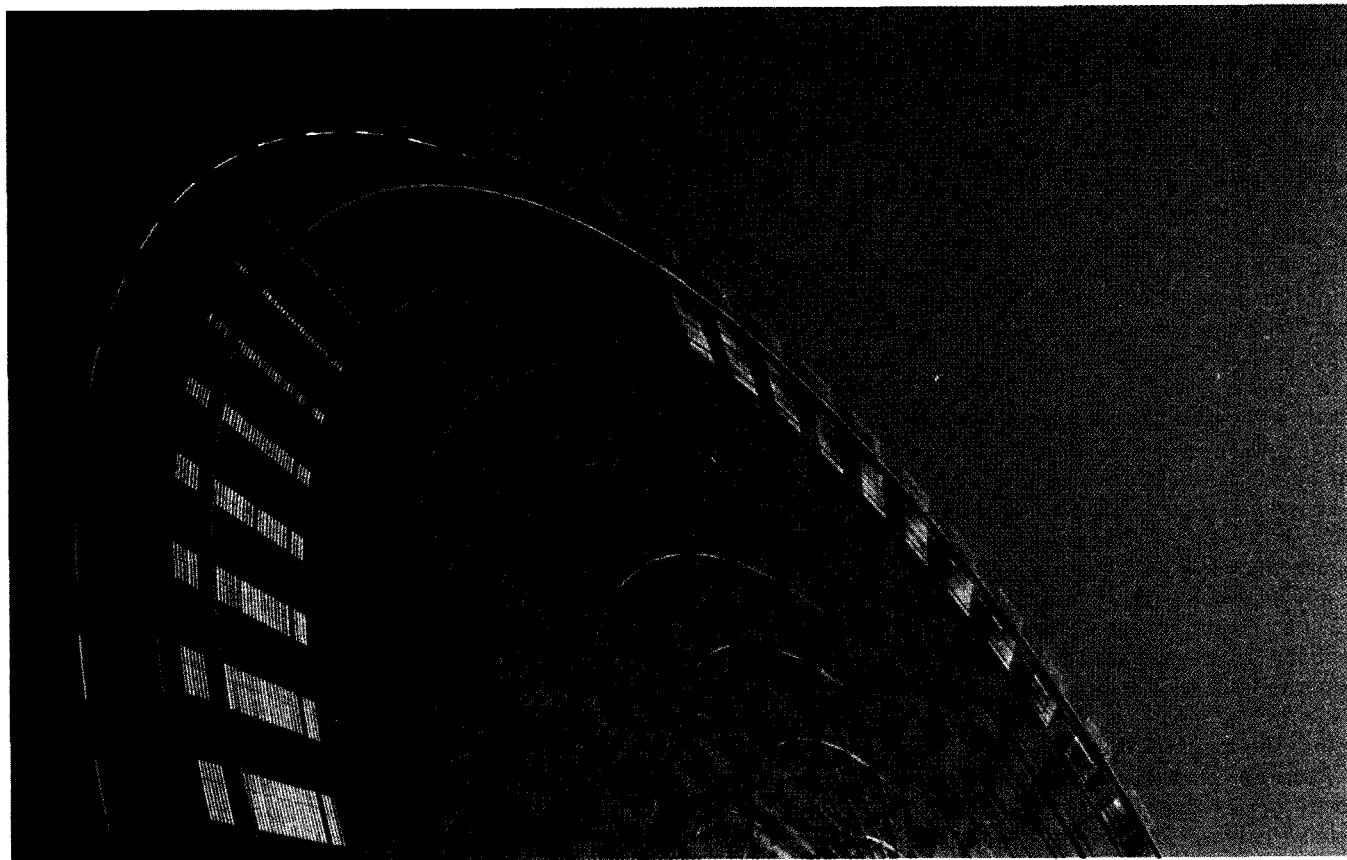
But North excites the disaffected pick-up truck, gun-rack, work-boot crowd as few candidates can. He has parlayed criticisms from Reagan officials into proof that he is being dumped on by Washington insiders pushing their own agendas. Even the "I'm getting pretty steamed" Reagan letter missed its mark when the radioactive Warner announced its release at a press conference. Ollie's core just isn't going anywhere.

Except to the June 4 nominating convention. Common wisdom says North has it won. In rural areas especially, North does dominate. But no one knows how the 14,500 delegates, free to switch affiliation any time, will vote in the convention's secret ballot. Miller, weak in the southern reaches of the state, is strongest in delegate-rich urban areas. So, even though everyone agrees North is ahead, handing him the nomination is premature.

Miller has none of the star power of North (he jokes that aides urged him to take his balding visage off his campaign literature), and few of the liabilities. His campaign lost steam in early

Mr. Lowry is NR's associate articles editor.

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April when, in a maladroitness attempt of his own, he held a press conference meant to draw attention to North's brief psychiatric hospitalization, then revealed he too had seen a psychiatrist. Now Miller draws his message from polls showing him even with or ahead of Robb: Nominate the conservative who can win.

Do the polls mean anything? North likes to say that if they did, you could ask Mary Sue Terry "how she likes the curtains in the governor's mansion." Allen won big after trailing her by 18 points in June. (Never mind that he had little name recognition and few negatives, whereas North has gobs of both.) Once North buys \$20 million worth of TV this fall, supporters say, public opinion will shift just as it did during the Iran-Contra hearings.

They have a point. North is a natural campaigner—"He's as good a speaker as you'll see in a room of 400 or 500 people," says Holsworth—and he's not going to lose to the flaccid Robb by 20 points. But he also has vulnerabilities that aren't the creation of the "liberal media" or influential enemies. The toughest hit so far came in a *Reader's Digest* article detailing North stories that have been contradicted by fellow Reagan officials, and other Iran-Contra irregularities (some involving large sums of cash).

North says he can answer all the criticisms, but a danger of running a rogue operation is seeming a rogue. That could scotch the character issue—a relief for Chuck Robb. And Iran-Contra will keep North from creating the comfort level among moderate suburbanites that made it possible for them to vote for Allen. Even North supporters privately concede a Northern Virginia debacle.

The solidity of North's rural, die-hard base—and the difficulty he'll have reaching beyond it—explains the glee with which his camp entertains the possibility of other entrants into a North-Robb race (assuming no one upsets Robb in the mid-June Democratic primary). Former Governor Doug Wilder, despite his own hefty unfavorables, is toying with jumping in, which would make 35 per cent enough to win. And two-time gubernatorial loser Marshall Coleman, a Republican, is just unprincipled enough to answer Warner's call for an independent candidacy. In this wild, four-man scenario, a product of his own

weaknesses, North could indeed be the strongest candidate.

So, Republicans may reject their "clean" candidate, Jim Miller, embrace a man with as many negatives as

Chuck Robb, indulge in internal strife and disaffection, write off Virginia's suburban lynch-pin—and still win a Senate seat. But it will be because they were lucky rather than smart. □

Alone on the Range

VALERIE RICHARDSON

LAST year when President Clinton considered nominating Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt to the Supreme Court, environmentalists screamed: Babbitt was too good to lose from Interior. Anxious to please the politically crucial West, Clinton left him where he was. Now, a year and another Supreme Court opening later, Babbitt will probably be passed over again—this time because furious Western senators vowed to torpedo his nomination.

Babbitt's efforts to raise grazing fees, exert federal authority over water rights, and tighten environmental regulations have stoked a sequel to the Sagebrush Rebellion of the 1970s. A "Fire Babbitt" resolution is circulating rapidly in Western communities. So are bumper stickers with messages like "I Hunt Coyotes, Wolves, and Babbitts," and "Bobbitt Babbitt."

Even Greens have been turned off by the man the cowboys hate. Since his defeat on rangeland policy by filibustering senators in November, he reached out to ranchers, causing environmentalists to accuse him of caving into political pressure. When in February Babbitt fired Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Director Jim Baca, a former Wilderness Society activist, his closest allies accused him of sacrificing Baca to save his own neck. "We're joining the livestock industry and calling for his ouster," Jim Fish, president of the Public Lands Action Network, told the *Phoenix Gazette*. "I think he's no longer effective."

Fish may have a point. Babbitt's plans to overhaul federal mining policy, for example, are stalled because Representative George Miller (D., Calif.) has refused to appoint House conferees on mining reform until the

rangelands issue is resolved. Environmentalist lawmakers are so unhappy with his new proposal they say they'll kill it unless major changes are made. "It simply doesn't represent the level of reform we've been working on for these many, many years," said Mike Synar (D., Okla.).

The turmoil is a far cry from expectations when Babbitt joined the Administration. Then, he was seen as a star of the Clinton Cabinet, an experienced manager who had been tested on the national scene during his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988. "Into this contentious environment steps Babbitt as a self-proclaimed protector of the land as well as a kind of national conciliator," announced *Rolling Stone* magazine in a July 1993 interview.

The scion of a prominent Northern Arizona ranching family, Babbitt attended Harvard Law School and later served as president of the League of Conservation Voters. In his nine years as governor, he earned a reputation as a problem-solver by, as he likes to say, "getting everyone together and rolling around in the dirt." The tactic served him well in one of the high points of his gubernatorial career, negotiating Arizona's historic groundwater agreement.

But Babbitt, despite his family ties to ranching, had aligned himself firmly with environmental groups by the time he left the governor's mansion in 1987. "From this day on," he told the Sierra Club in a 1986 speech, "we must recognize the new reality that the highest and best, most productive use of Western land will usually be for public purposes—watershed, wildlife, and recreation."

Once in the Cabinet, he packed his department with former leaders of the League of Conservation Voters, Wilderness Society, World Wildlife Fund, and other liberal environmental groups. Criticizing the Reagan and

Valerie Richardson is a Denver-based correspondent for the Washington Times.

Bush Administrations for foot-dragging on environmental reform, he created the National Biological Survey by fiat and stepped up enforcement of the Endangered Species Act.

Still, there was little panic in the West until he tackled grazing. His original proposal, which would have quadrupled fees and increased the BLM's authority, touched off an uproar. Babbitt's "get down in the dirt" response was to fly back West in April of last year for a series of public forums. Ranchers left the meetings assured that their fears of economic ruin would be addressed. When the final proposal was released in August, they were horrified. "Everyone went to that dog-and-pony show thinking things would be different, then he comes back with the very same thing," said Representative Craig Thomas (R., Wyo.). "Their pattern is to say one thing and do another."

The latest example of such double-dealing coincided with the release of Babbitt's new rangeland plan. Known as the "Colorado model," the proposal came about after eight grueling work sessions in Colorado in which Babbitt met with Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Governor Roy Romer, ranchers, and the few environmentalists who didn't boycott the meetings. The sessions produced the idea of setting up community advisory boards, but conferees left blank the recommendations on grazing fees.

Most participants, including Campbell, were confident Babbitt wouldn't go for a fee-hike back in Washington. For the next few weeks, Campbell's office called the Interior Department regularly to see if advance copies of the proposal were available. On March 3, Campbell says, Babbitt told him personally that the recommendations would not be ready for two weeks, but that his office would receive a courtesy briefing before their release. Within hours of their meeting, however, copies of the proposal were leaked to a handful of representatives who advocated higher grazing fees. Neither Campbell nor other Western senators opposed to higher fees learned of the proposal until they read about it two days later in the *Washington Post*.

Babbitt's proposal calls for a 100 per cent jump in grazing fees on the 260 million acres of land run by the BLM. Now \$1.98 per cow or five sheep, per-

month fees would rise incrementally for three years, until they reached \$3.96. The figure is lower than Babbitt's original goal of \$4.28, but nothing in the new proposal would stop fees from going still higher the following year. And even the fees as stated will be "extremely detrimental to small family ranching operations throughout the West," said Senator Pete Domenici (R., N.M.).

Why has Babbitt stumbled so badly? Most Interior-watchers point to two major errors. First, he was too ambitious—he thought he could ram through arguably the most radical grazing overhaul in this century while also working on the biological survey, timber, and other issues. Second, he underestimated the reaction of Western lawmakers. Urban voters may outnumber their rural counterparts in the West, but both feel strongly about protecting their cowboy roots. And

Babbitt surely was getting mixed signals from the White House. He sometimes jokes that he has been instructed to pursue his environmental agenda vigorously—as long as it doesn't cost his boss any states in 1996 (Clinton won eight Western states in 1992, including four conservative Rocky Mountain states).

"1994 is not going to be a great year for the Democrats, but if the biggest losses are in the West, Clinton's not going to let him stick around," predicted Myron Ebell, of the American Land Rights Association. "Frankly, it's better for us if he stays in because he's become such a symbol. It's kind of like what the environmentalists did with Watt." Except Babbitt has done Reagan's ill-used Interior Secretary one better—he's hated by environmentalists and their enemies both. Yet unlike Watt, Babbitt could still sit on the bench. □

California's Immigration Problem

JONATHAN MARSHALL

SAN FRANCISCO
FEW ISSUES are hotter right now in California, even among liberals such as Senator Barbara Boxer, than the huge inflow of immigrants, especially illegals. In his most recent budget proposal, Governor Pete Wilson demanded \$2.3 billion in federal assistance to help cover the public cost of assimilating them.

Until now, California's complaints have focused mainly on two issues: the large numbers of migrants the state must absorb and the costs they impose on state and local taxpayers. Estimates of those costs, pegged by Wilson at \$3.6 billion annually, have fueled an unending debate over the "true" fiscal impact of immigration.

But hitherto overlooked data from U.S. Census records suggest that the state's anguish over immigration may have another source beyond the fiscal drain: an invisible hand that is steering to California migrants of startlingly lower skills and earning ability than those who move to most other states. Analysis of these records leads to some sobering conclusions:

Mr. Marshall is economics editor of the San Francisco Chronicle.

—Recent migrants in the state are extremely poor. Three-quarters of them made less than \$15,000 in 1989. Even among those who had lived in the United States for 10 to 15 years, more than half fell into that low income bracket.

—For recent arrivals, the ratio of immigrant to native incomes was about 50 per cent lower in California than in the rest of the United States. Recent immigrants to California had an average income only one-third as high as that of native-born Americans in California in 1989; in contrast, immigrants who settled in other states had about three-fifths the average income of the native-born.

—The rate at which immigrants are catching up with the native-born appears to be slowing over time. Back in 1980, immigrants in California who had arrived 10 to 15 years earlier had four-fifths as much income as natives. By 1990, immigrants of similar experience in the United States made only two-thirds as much as natives.

—Recent male immigrants in California had a 28 per cent higher high-school dropout rate and a 42 cent lower college-graduation rate than male immigrants who went to other

**INCOME AND EDUCATION
OF RECENT (1985-90)
MIGRANTS TO CALIFORNIA**

Native Country	Average Income	Years of Schooling
U.S.	\$27,512	13.5
Honduras	5,879	7.9
El Salvador	6,380	7.3
Mexico	6,737	7.6
Guatemala	6,899	7.3
Laos	7,393	5.5
Vietnam	7,586	9.5
Cambodia	7,842	5.6
USSR	8,252	12.2
China	8,531	11.1
Nicaragua	8,792	10.3
Thailand	9,226	12.1
Peru	9,306	12.7
Colombia	9,867	12.1
Iran	11,184	12.2
Korea	11,356	13.1
Philippines	12,468	13.8
Hong Kong	12,626	12.4
Taiwan	12,811	14.5
India	14,121	14.0
Israel	18,580	14.0
Germany	19,923	14.8
Japan	24,324	14.6
England	26,984	14.1
Canada	27,067	14.5

Source: U.S. Census, 1990 (5% Public Use Microdata Sample for California).

Figures are for people aged 25-64 in 1990.

states. Nearly a third of all California immigrants arriving after 1985 had less than a ninth-grade education, compared to a mere 2 per cent of native-born in California.

These numbers are gross averages, of course. They do not do justice to recent immigrants from Taiwan, 67 per cent of whom arrived in California with college degrees and many of whom will no doubt show the entrepreneurial flair characteristic of their predecessors. Nor do these numbers reflect the work ethic of relatively unskilled immigrants from Guatemala, 69 per cent of whom were employed in 1990, compared to an average of only 61 per cent for all recent immigrants. (But even with their hard work, recent Guatemalan immigrants had an average income of only \$6,900 in 1989.)

Even if these numbers obscure the many valuable contributions of newcomers to California they do suggest why the state faces such a hard chal-

lenge assimilating the foreigners who flock to it: at a time when technological trends are putting an ever-increasing premium on skills, education, and language facility, many of California's immigrants are arriving unequipped.

Recent work by George Borjas of UC San Diego suggests this will remain a problem long after their arrival. Not only are immigrants failing to catch up with natives (as my own California data show), their children are only slowly erasing the gap, Borjas shows. It will take at least four generations, he estimates, before the descendants of recent immigrants are indistinguishable economically from other Americans.

Why has California become a magnet for immigrants of such relatively poor economic potential? One reason is its welcoming embrace of refugees who tend to have low skills, especially from Central America and Southeast Asia. (See chart.)

The other reason, of course, is its proximity to a poor, Third World country: Mexico. Migrants who pour across

the border into California from Mexico and Central America, legally or illegally, come with only a few years of poor-quality schooling and relatively little contact with modern business or technology. Again because of its proximity to Mexico, California attracts more immigrants who plan to return home after a brief stay in the United States and who therefore invest less in acquiring skills specific to the U.S. market.

The poor showing of California's newest residents does not suggest that the state should urge Congress to slam the door on legal immigration. But it does give special urgency to California's claim for more federal assistance in controlling illegal migration and in assimilating new arrivals. And it may suggest the desirability of reforming U.S. immigration law to closely mimic that of Canada, which successfully uses a point system to encourage immigration of foreigners with higher incomes and skills appropriate to an advanced industrial economy. □

On the Supply Side

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

NEW YORK
MAIN STREET loves it, but international currency markets and Wall Street do not. What is it? An economic boom that will last throughout this year and may well spill over into 1995. It is not sustainable, and it will generate considerably higher inflation and a nasty economic downturn when the cycle runs its course, probably in 1996. But in the meantime, 1994 will turn out to be a much stronger growth year than nearly all the experts predicted.

To begin with, most Americans owning or working in businesses believe the recent news on strong job creation is grounds for optimism. April produced 265,000 new non-farm payroll jobs, after a stunning 464,000 new hires in March. About a million new jobs were generated during the first four months of 1994.

What's more, Main Street realizes that, for whatever reasons, the U.S. economy has entered a boom phase. After growing less than 2 per cent annually from the end of 1988 to the end

of 1992, the economy over the past four quarters has accelerated markedly: 3.6 per cent for real GDP growth, and 5.5 per cent for *private* real GDP growth.

Not only a boom, but a industrial boom. While the East and West Coasts are still lagging, the middle of the country, including the natural-resource- and commodity-producing Rockies, is experiencing its best times since the late 1970s. Business investment spending has surged 17 per cent over the past year, while machine-tool orders are up 21.6 per cent. Industrial production has increased 5.1 per cent since last April, including a 10.8 per cent rise in the production of business equipment. As a leading indicator, unfilled-order backlogs of capital goods (excluding the volatile defense and aircraft sectors) have jumped at a 21.6 per cent annual rate over the past three months, suggesting that the boom will continue at least through year's end.

Mr. Kudlow is NR's economics editor.

Much of the Main Street boom can be traced to the cheap dollar, which already this year has dropped 10 per cent against the Japanese yen and 5 per cent against the German mark. In fact, over the past three years the dollar has lost 50 per cent of its value against the yen. This currency protectionism has virtually shut Japanese and German manufacturers out of U.S. markets.

U.S. automakers are especially happy campers. With the overpriced yen, Japanese competitors are losing sales and market share, and domestic auto production has increased 18.7 per cent over the past year, and at a 48 per cent annual rate in the first quarter. Meanwhile the yearly selling rate has skyrocketed to 21.3 per cent, while inventories are relatively low. Tried to buy a jeep or minivan lately? There are only 59 selling days of "light truck" inventories on dealer lots, compared to 75 days a year ago.

But it is precisely the exchange-rate imbalance that has caused so much turmoil in world currency markets, centered on the sinking Clinton dollar, which is reminiscent of the Carter dollar 15 years ago. In his first 15 months, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen cooperated with confrontational trade negotiators Mickey Kantor and Ron Brown by hinting to the rest of the world that the U.S. would accept a lower dollar to offset a growing trade imbalance.

Of course, Mr. Bentsen's Republican predecessors, James Baker and Nick Brady, also supported a lower dollar. Indeed, it was Mr. Baker's public bickering with Germany in the summer of 1987 that led directly to the global stock-market crash that October.

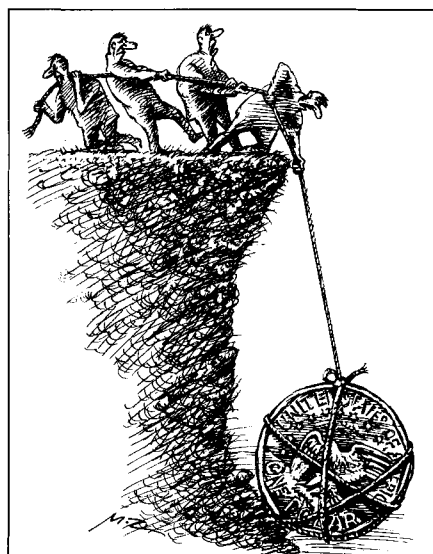
World investors, businesses, and entrepreneurs vastly prefer stability to volatility where money is concerned, but since President Nixon ended the Bretton Woods system in 1971-73, currency volatility has been the rule. Except for a brief interlude (1981-85) under President Reagan, the dollar has come under sporadic attacks for the better part of over twenty years.

Now the trade deficit has grown worse, and a new dollar crisis appears on the horizon. Mr. Bentsen has changed his stripes and publicly called for intervention to stabilize the greenback's value, but as of this writing the Fed has not backed up the new policy with decisive action—i.e., raising the

discount rate from 3 per cent to 4 per cent. An indecisive 0.5-percentage-point rise would likely do more harm than good.

The current situation cannot be blamed solely on the U.S., however. Japan has been deflating its economy for three years, keeping real-estate interest rates way too high, monetary base growth much too low, and pulling the yen price of gold down by a staggering 37 per cent. Over the past year wholesale prices in Japan have declined 3 per cent, generating the worst recession since the mid 1970s.

That said, the U.S. and Japan must sit calmly at a negotiating table to realign exchange rates and monetary and trade policies before the world experiences another scary stock-market



Mikhail Zlatkovsky

collapse. Not only because the dollar-yen relationship is so far out of line, forming the nexus of the G-7 problem, but also because a further sinking of the dollar could sharply undermine economic recovery all around the world. The dollar is still the world's reserve currency, and emerging free-market countries everywhere have essentially adopted the dollar as their principal means of exchange and investment store of value.

From Russia, through Central Europe, to Mexico and South America, and spreading through Hong Kong and the other Asian Tigers, including China, governments and new business enterprises and hundreds of millions of people own dollars. If the greenback's value sinks, so may those who depend on it.

The problem can be solved if Japanese and U.S. authorities simply up-

date the Bretton Woods golden anchor. Gold is currently at \$385 an ounce; the dollar should be appreciated so that gold could be rebased at \$350 (ten times the old \$35 par value). Moreover, since most economists agree the dollar should purchase at least 125 yen, the Japanese yen should be depreciated about 15 per cent to roughly a 43,500 yen price of gold. To establish the new gold points, the U.S. must sell dollar Treasury bills while Japan must purchase dollars, preferably in the forward market. This would make dollars more scarce and yen more abundant.

U.S. bond traders hate the current situation because they see that the quantity of U.S. dollars created by the Fed remains overly abundant. That is why gold and commodity prices, including copper, silver, lumber, oil, and coffee, are mounting yet another rally, while stocks and bonds continue to sag. Indeed, bonds are in their biggest freefall since the late 1970s. Investors are rearranging their portfolios out of paper money and into hard assets (including real estate) as a hedge against inflation.

Take a look at the expansion of the Federal Reserve's balance sheet, especially the series called Federal Reserve Bank credit, which shows the amount of loans made and securities purchased by the Fed. This is the best indicator of central-bank money creation, what Milton Friedman many years ago called high-powered money. Since late 1991, when yearly Reserve Bank credit was rising at a well-controlled 4 per cent pace, this measure of monetary stimulus accelerated to 8 per cent by year end 1992, then 12 per cent in 1993, and so far in 1994 it has been holding around 11.5 per cent. In other words, very easy money.

The problem is not growth or prosperity, it is bad money. Even worse, the current problem is bad money and higher taxes. In the short run, easy money dominates by stimulating aggregate demand. In the long run, however, higher taxes exert a drag on the supply side of the economy. We have seen not only the largest tax hike in peacetime history, passed in 1993, but the threat of more taxes in 1994 should Congress pass new entitlements for health care, welfare reform, and job training. As the effects of low-interest-rate policies wear off, the tax-

(Continues on page 68)

RANDOM WALK



■ Ask a liberal to identify a single government program that actually works and he will unhesitatingly cite Social Security. So most of my Washington friends have been somewhat deflated since the feds announced Social Security is going bankrupt seven years sooner than expected. The trust fund will officially hit empty in 2029—the mid-retirement years for most baby boomers.

Even that projection is absurdly optimistic. The world's expert on Social Security, Peter Ferrara of the National Center for Policy Analysis, grimly forecasts that by 1999 the combined OASDI and HI (Medicare) trust funds will be spending \$8 billion more a year than is collected through the FICA payroll tax and that this annual deficit will soon thereafter mushroom to more than \$100 billion. Since the surpluses of the 1980s and 1990s have already been spent by Congress on everything from pornographic-art subsidies to nuclear submarines, the financial insolvency of the nation's pension system is lurking sooner than Washington pretends.

Few Americans appreciate just how spectacularly awful an investment Social Security has become. A wage-earner with an income over \$60,000 and born after 1957 will over his lifetime "contribute" \$1.50 in payroll taxes (plus interest and a normal rate of real return) for every dollar of benefits received.

That's a bargain compared to what's in store for the MTV generation. William Shipman of State Street Global Advisors in Boston recently showed me the gloomy outlook. A worker just entering the workforce with an average starting salary of \$22,500, and with a normal lifetime earnings path, is expected to receive a Social Security benefit of about \$12,500 per year (1994 dollars), if the program is still around in 2040. If that same worker were sim-

ply permitted to place his payroll taxes in an annuity with a 6 per cent real rate of return, he would have a nest egg worth \$800,000 at retirement age. This would allow him to draw a \$60,000 benefit per year until death (assumed at age eighty)—five times what Social Security offers.

Now hold on to your wallets: Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski offers the usual grab bag of failed non-reforms: raising payroll taxes (by another 20 per cent over the next thirty years); further taxes on benefits (to punish those who save for retirement on their own); raising the retirement age; and so forth.

The only real reform is the "Super IRA" approach long promoted by the Cato Institute. Workers would be permitted to put their payroll-tax money into the equivalent of IRAs and earn the type of return Shipman is talking about, rather than sending the dollars to Washington for Congress to spend. Representative John Porter of Illinois is pushing a version of this reform and is reportedly picking up supporters. Chile adopted this type of experiment

some 15 years ago. Today the average Chilean worker has a more secure pension than the average American.

And this, remember, is a government program that *works*.

■ Finally, after eight years of waiting: a capital-gains tax cut. But, you have to move to Jackson or Pascagoula, Mississippi, to be eligible. Governor Kirk Fordice has just signed a law abolishing the state's 5 per cent capital-gains tax on investments held for more than one year. Mr. Fordice, who is rapidly becoming the nation's foremost supply-side practitioner, says, "The American economy will never truly soar until the dead weight of capital-gains taxation is removed from the neck of the American entrepreneurial spirit."

If you live and invest in Mississippi, you now pay a combined 28 per cent federal-state capital-gains levy, compared with a 38 per cent rate in New York City—an insanely non-competitive rate for a city trying to remain the financial capital of the world.

New York's insanity promises to be Kirk Fordice's gain. Brace yourself for the Mississippi Miracle.

■ Speaking of economic miracles, the best-performing European stock market this year is Italy's, up about 30 per cent, versus 10 per cent declines elsewhere on the Continent. With the ascension of Silvio Berlusconi, who intends to cut taxes, privatize state-owned companies, deregulate commerce and trade, fight crime, and follow through on political reforms, Italy could become the best-performing European economy.

One savvy international investor, Joel Citron of MP, Inc., who started buying Italian shares before the election, has already started to add to his position. He believes that Berlusconi's new regime of less red tape will make it much easier to manage companies toward profitability. Previously, one set of books was necessary for government tax purposes; then a second set for shareholders; a third for the wife; and a fourth set that was actually correct.

In the new Italy, only two sets will be necessary: government and shareholder books can be as honest as if kept for oneself. Guess which set will always be needed? But man strives for progress, not perfection. —GEKKO



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Punishing Criminals

HOW TO CUT CRIME

Janet Reno and the House Democrats are so busy looking for the root causes of crime that they have no time to look for solutions. Herewith, some provisions they missed.

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

IN a few weeks, a House-Senate conference will produce a crime bill meant to address the issue now foremost in the public's mind. President Clinton calls the legislation "the toughest and most significant anti-crime bill ever passed by the United States Congress." Democrats have flocked to it as a way to shed their "soft-on-crime" label, while Republicans will be hard pressed to oppose it. The final legislation will doubtless achieve its aim of allowing politicians to tell their constituents that they have "cracked down" on crime. But will the new law, at least in its House incarnation, really do so? That is more doubtful.

Crime rates (crime per 100,000 residents over the age of 12) declined worldwide up to the 1950s, but took off in the 1960s. In the U.S. between 1966 and 1990 the rate of all crimes reported to the police tripled; the rate of violent crimes quadrupled. Currently we have one homicide every 42 seconds, one burglary every 11 seconds, one car theft every 20 seconds, one robbery every 40 seconds, one rape every 5 minutes (once underreported, rape now may be overreported). In the last few years crime rates have declined by 2 to 4 per cent, but they remain so high that people hardly notice.

How to explain the dramatic rise in crime? Some causes are uncontrollable—e.g., the age of the population: the more young males, the more crime. But this accounts for less than half of the rise. Age-specific crime rates (e.g., the crime rate of 18-year-olds) have significantly risen, as has crime per 100,000 poor people, or blacks, or high-school dropouts. Crime may also be blamed on trends that could be changed in the long but not in the short run, such as the weaker authority over (and control of) the young by families, churches, schools, and communities. "Root causes," including ignorance, poverty, envy, and wickedness, do underlie

crime. But there is no evidence for increases of ignorance, wickedness, or poverty in the 1960s. If people and society were different, there might be less crime. But they aren't, and won't be soon. What can be done meanwhile?

Risk of Punishment

HUMAN ACTIONS are governed by incentives and disincentives. We are attracted by the hope of pleasure or gain, deterred by the fear of pain or loss. Expressive crimes (e.g., rape) are committed for the sake of expected pleasure; instrumental crimes (e.g., burglary) mainly for the sake of expected gain. Both often can be deterred by disincentives—the fear of pain, the threat of punishment. To be sure, people, including prospective criminals, seldom actually calculate the cost versus the benefit, the risk-reward ratio. Nor do rats. Yet rats, like people, respond as if they calculated. We can predict their behavior accordingly. Traffic lights would be useless if behavior were unpredictable.

Habits, based on often indirect experience, not on calculation, determine most behavior, law abiding as well as criminal. When the cost of a good or service rises, less of it is used. If the cost of bananas, or of cars, goes up, fewer are bought. To the criminal the cost of a crime is the risk of punishment. Not what is threatened by the law, but the punishment he risks given his actual chances of being convicted and imprisoned. If a parking fine is \$50 and you are caught every tenth time, your actual fine per violation is \$5. If the punishment for burglary is 5 years, and you are convicted and sent to prison every tenth burglary, your actual punishment is 6 months per burglary. At present the actual punishment is much lower: 6 to 7 days per burglary, roughly 2 years per murder, 6 months per rape, 2 months per robbery; aggravated assault costs 8 to 9 days; car theft 2 to 3 days. These risks still deter many prospective

Mr. van den Haag's Punishing Criminals has just been reissued by University Press of America.



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Victor A. Canto has been a professor of finance and business economics at the University of Southern California, the University of California at Los Angeles and the Universidad del Este in the Dominican Republic. He is president of A.B. Laffer, V.A. Canto & Associates.

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criminals, but are too low to reduce the crime rate. Most people are not aware of how small the actual chance of punishment is; but professional criminals are. It is what makes the career attractive. They know that on average they will serve no more than 40 per cent of their sentence, and that most of them will not serve at all—they are rarely caught. When convicted, 62 per cent are sentenced to probation, not imprisonment.

Whenever the risks of punishment fall, the crime rate rises. The rise in crime since the 1960s is a response to the decline in the risks criminals run, to the rise of their prospective net profit. Crime now pays for many more people than before. Between 1962 and 1979 the likelihood of a serious crime leading to arrest fell by nearly half. The likelihood of an arrest leading to conviction fell more. The likelihood of a serious crime lead-



ing to imprisonment fell altogether by 80 per cent. One may wonder why crime rates did not rise more.

Consider a different set of data. Per 1,000 serious crimes there were 90 people in prison in 1960, but only 30 in 1990. The prison population has multiplied, but crime has risen more; so the risk of imprisonment has actually fallen. In 1991 there were 34.7 million crimes, of which 6.4 million were violent. Yet, only 400,000 offenders were sent to state prisons, including juvenile facilities. Fewer than 40,000 went to federal prisons (46 per cent were whites, 53 per cent were blacks). Thus, a grand total of less than half a million offenders were sent to prison during a year in which 34 million crimes were committed, 6.4 million of them violent.

What the House Bill Ignores

THE HOUSE bill often stumbles in the right direction, but ignores many remediable problems in favor of expensive ineffectualities. Ninety per cent of all persons charged with serious crimes are allowed to plead guilty to lesser charges. Prosecutors must induce guilty pleas by charge and penalty reductions, because otherwise the courts would have more trials than they could handle. (They barely manage the

remaining 10 per cent.) Unfortunately the bill hardly increases the trial capacity of the courts, and does nothing to streamline procedures.

Judges often insist on premature release, or on not sending criminals to prison, because of overcrowding. Although eager to mandate construction of public schools, or of public housing, judges do not mandate construction of prisons needed for public safety. Instead they press for release of prisoners. Yet there is no law that lists overcrowding as a mitigating circumstance for any crime. And anyway, the problem is not for judges but for legislatures.

Prisons are costly (between \$25,000 and \$40,000 a year per inmate). Many are unnecessarily luxurious, with TV sets and elaborate gyms. Yet prisoners can exercise without gyms. However, they should not be deprived of work. Currently only busy-work with disincentive wages is available in most state prisons. Even if they were paid reasonable wages (from which taxes and room and board could be deducted) working prisoners would be less expensive than they are now. However, even at present costs, prisons are a bargain. The additional crimes that would be committed if fewer people were in prison cost far more to the victims and to society than imprisonment does—not to speak of moral costs.

As for prison space, it is hard to see why former military bases and empty psychiatric hospitals are not utilized. They won't do as maximum security prisons; but not all prisoners require maximum security. Two years before release few will try to escape.

Congress wants to finance too little prison construction (the House bill apportions \$13.5 billion for state prisons, the Senate \$6 billion), but threatens the death penalty for more crimes. Yet, the threat of more executions is hollow. Of the 2,500 people now on death row, most will die of old age: less than 2 per cent are executed every year. With more than 20,000 homicides annually, we had but 32 executions last year.

The House bill does nothing to make the death penalty effective; on the contrary, it would mean even fewer executions in years to come. Democrats preserved in the bill the Racial Justice Act, which creates a presumption of racial bias if there is a statistical disparity based on the race of the criminals or their victims. The National District Attorneys Association calls a vote for the act "a vote to end the death penalty." In general, this would make the criminal-justice system more ponderous and ineffective than ever without protecting the innocent or achieving better justice. It is racial grandstanding of the most disgraceful sort. The Justice Department, nonetheless, was officially neutral on this part of the proposed law. And, according to Republican Representative Bill McCollum, conservative Democrats say Janet Reno privately lobbied for it.

IS THERE ANY
MEMBER OF CONGRESS...
WHO WOULDN'T ENVY
THESE RATINGS?



**CONSUMER
SATISFACTION RATINGS
WITH MANAGED CARE
HEALTH PLANS**

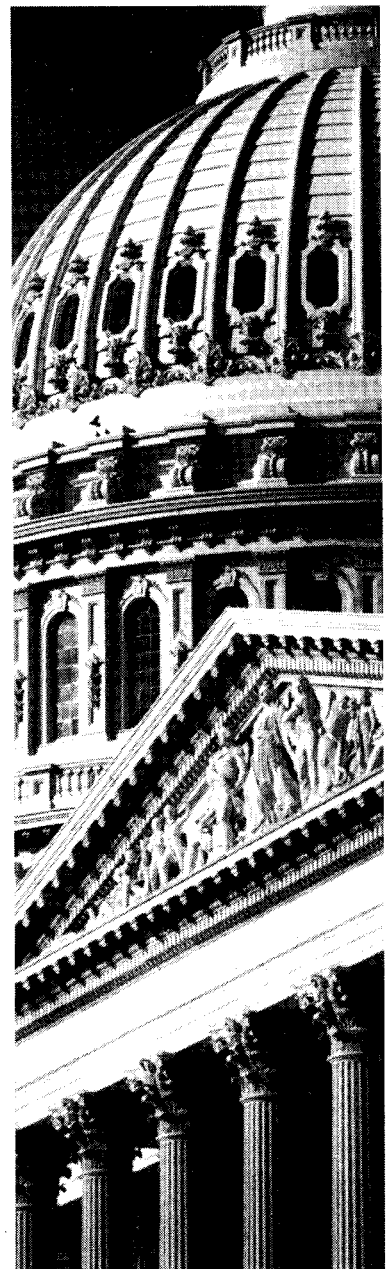
Satisfaction with
**QUALITY OF
MANAGED CARE**
89%

Satisfaction with
**MANAGED CARE
PHYSICIANS**
83%

Satisfaction with
**MANAGED CARE
OVERALL**
80%

Satisfaction with
**OUT-OF POCKET
EXPENSES**
70%

(source: Mellman-Lazarus-Lake National Survey
1000 - Americans, September 1993)



**MANAGED
CARE
WORKS.**

THE ALLIANCE FOR MANAGED COMPETITION
Providing Health Coverage for 60 Million Americans

AETNA CIGNA METLIFE THE PRUDENTIAL THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANIES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On other matters, such as recidivism, the House bill is better, but not good enough. It proposes life in prison without parole for recidivists ("three strikes and you're out"). This is a very small step in the right direction. A third conviction means that an offender is a career criminal. He has probably committed not three but several hundred crimes, for which he was not caught. Even "first offenders" often have committed previous offenses as adults for which they were not convicted. Further, their juvenile records are kept from the adult courts. This harms society and has never been shown to help the juveniles. Anyway, why should the first one be on the house?

Will life in prison without parole fill prisons with ger-

iatrics? Hardly. Criminals usually die young—and governors can always pardon prisoners too old or sick to do further harm.

Rehabilitative programs, even if more successful than now, would not be remotely cost-effective. Further, even if all offenders were rehabilitated—not a realistic prospect—the rate of instrumental crimes would scarcely be reduced. Just as a retired teacher, editor, or prostitute is likely to be replaced as long as the activity is perceived as profitable, so would the rehabilitated criminal. Rehabilitation does not reduce the profitability of crime. The crime rate can be decreased only by making crime less profitable through raising its costs to criminals. At best, rehabilitation could make a dent in the

The Case of Richard Davis

NOTHING demonstrates the collapse of our criminal-justice system better than the fact that career criminals, who are only 6 per cent of all criminals in the U.S., commit 70 per cent of all crimes. The number of crimes the average career criminal commits is astounding—"between 187 and 287 crimes a year," according to Steve Twist, head of the National Rifle Association's CrimeStrike project.

How this comes about can be seen in the record of Richard Allen Davis, 39, of California, charged with murdering 12-year-old Polly Klaas.

Davis, who committed his first crimes at age 12—stealing checks from mailboxes and burglarizing homes—learned early on that the system was intent on giving young offenders not just a second chance, but chance after chance after chance.

As an adult, he was arrested at least a dozen times—including seven times for burglary—before he was sentenced to state prison for the first time in 1975, when he was 20. Time after time Davis was allowed to strike a bargain with prosecutors to drop the more serious charges—often sex offenses.

His career followed a familiar pattern, starting out with non-violent crimes such as burglary, and working up to kidnapping, assault, robbery, sex offenses, and finally a charge of murder.

Less than two months after his release in 1976 from his first incarceration,

Davis was arrested in Hayward, California, after he abducted a woman at knifepoint from a transit station and demanded oral sex from her. Davis told court-appointed psychiatrists that he heard a woman's voice telling him to commit the crime. He said, "I had the feeling she wanted something done to her."

In his cell, Davis appeared to fall into a deep depression and attempted to hang himself. So authorities sent him to Napa State Hospital, where he apparently made a quick recovery. Exploiting the poor security, he walked out ten days later.

Within days of his escape, Davis committed at least three felonies, according to the *Los Angeles Times*. These included "entering the house of a Napa woman and hitting her with a fireplace poker while she lay in bed." For this rampage he was convicted of kidnapping, robbery, assault, and burglary.

In her pre-sentencing report, San Mateo Probation Officer Adele Sheills wrote that Davis's crimes, plus "an accelerating potential for violence, dictate a commitment." Her Alameda counterpart, Ron Locke, wrote that Davis was an "obvious threat to the community" and "there is no other alternative but imprisonment."

Davis was duly sentenced to concurrent terms of 6 months to 10 years, 1 to 25 years, and 6 months to life. But when the California legislature changed the state's sentencing system, Davis's sentences were recalculated to total 6 years. He ended up serving only 5 years.

After being released in March 1982, Davis went for a year without an arrest. That ended in March 1983, with a burglary arrest in San Rafael. For reasons not made public, he wasn't prosecuted on this charge, nor on five other charges placed against him between March and October 1983, including possession of a weapon, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, and resisting arrest.

Then, on November 30, 1984, Davis and an accomplice, Susan Mavra, abducted a Redwood City woman at gunpoint and forced her to withdraw \$6,000 in cash from her bank. At one point, Davis struck the woman with his pistol. Convicted of kidnapping, assault, and robbery, Davis was sentenced to 16 years in prison, and later to a concurrent 3-year term for a robbery he attempted in Stanislaus County after committing the Redwood City crimes. But once more he was released after serving only 8 years—"time off for good behavior."

Three months after this release, Polly Klaas was kidnapped at knifepoint from her bedroom in Petaluma, by an assailant identified as Davis. She was found buried in a wooded area twenty miles from her home, strangled to death.

Davis could have been judged a violent career offender and given a life sentence without possibility of parole as long ago as 1976. His trial has not yet concluded, but it appears that Polly Klaas was a victim of the court's reluctance to make that judgment of anyone. —OLIVER STARR JR.

Mr. Starr is a former editorial-page editor of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

rate of expressive crimes, such as child molestation, for which profitability is not relevant. But sexual offenders are hardly ever rehabilitated.

Nor will the "prevention" programs created by the bill make any difference. It proposes spending \$8 billion on job training and other programs, including efforts to "increase the self-esteem" of wayward youth, in part through "cultural programs, arts and crafts, and health education and service programs, [and] dance programs." In a sentence that recalls Janet Reno's fight-crime-through-social-work speeches, the bill calls for "instituting a collaborative structure that trains and coordinates the efforts of teachers, administrators, social workers, guidance counselors, and school volunteers to provide concurrent social services." None of this is likely to touch a gun-toting South Bronx 17-year-old.

The bill includes a measure of gun control. That might have a point—if there were actually an effective way to control guns. But our frontiers are porous enough to permit drugs and illegal aliens to cross them easily. So would guns. Criminals would remain armed, while law-abiding citizens would be disarmed. Unilateral disarmament does not reduce violence.

Some Practical Changes

IF THESE widely suggested changes are likely to be nearly useless, there are other, less popular, changes that might do some good.

Frisking. Currently, police are allowed to frisk suspects only if they have "probable cause" as defined by lawyers—which makes it almost impossible to frisk anyone without first having the evidence that only frisking could provide (e.g., an illegal gun). Police should be allowed to frisk suspects *qua* suspects. For the innocent, being politely frisked is an inconvenience they should be willing to bear for the sake of capturing the criminals who endanger everyone.

Won't the police frisk blacks more often than whites? Perhaps. It would be rational to do so. Although blacks are only about 12 per cent of the population, black criminals commit 70 per cent of all robberies, 60 per cent of all violent crimes. Except for robbery, they mostly victimize other blacks—who would therefore be the primary beneficiaries of more frisking. (Unfortunately, black and white civil libertarians seem more interested in opposing police than in helping law-abiding blacks.)

Juries. Currently, jury decisions must be unanimous and prosecutors must prove guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt." "Clear and convincing evidence" should be enough; and two-thirds of the jury should suffice to decide all but capital cases. We trust juries to decide on guilt and innocence. Why then treat them as children, incapable of evaluating the voluntariness and truthfulness of a confession, however obtained, or of understanding that previous convictions prove a defendant capable of crime, but do not prove that he committed the crime he is charged with?

Bail. Suspects often are released on bail despite serious prior convictions. A conviction during the ten years

preceding the current charge should make suspects ineligible for bail. Convictions should also deprive offenders of privileges such as public housing.

Exclusionary rules. Our courts have instituted many rules that make the conviction of the guilty nearly impossible, without increasing the protection of the innocent. Thus, rules invented by the Supreme Court make inadmissible any information volunteered in police custody without a lawyer present (unless counsel is specifically declined). No lawyer will let his client talk to the police. The rules discourage confession.

Prior convictions and self-incrimination. Previous convictions cannot be mentioned in court unless the defendant volunteers to testify—which one who has previous convictions won't do. Juries are not allowed to hold the defendant's unwillingness to testify against him. Now, the Fifth Amendment prescribes that no one "shall be compelled . . . to be a witness against himself." However, defendants would volunteer to try to exculpate themselves if their silence could be held against them. They should not be compelled to testify, but they can be urged and even enticed.

Exclusion of evidence. Justice requires that anything that might help decide guilt or innocence be available to a jury. Anyone who does something illegal to obtain evidence should be punished. But defendants should not be allowed to benefit from police illegalities or errors which now make evidence inadmissible.

None of these reforms is in the crime bill.

Age-Based Punishment

WHILE prison programs seldom rehabilitate, age nearly always does. Over half of all offenders sent to prison are under age 29. Only about 4 per cent are over age 45. Given these data, I propose that anyone convicted of a third offense deserving imprisonment—assault, burglary, auto theft, or worse—should be sentenced to imprisonment until he reaches age 45. This would be harsh (but deterrent) for those in their twenties. It might be too lenient for those in their forties. Therefore the sentence of the court should read: "imprisonment until age 45, but for no less than [the time prescribed in the past]."

Age-based sentences imply disparities: of two persons convicted of the same crime, one may have to serve 25 years (if he is 20), the other 10 (if he is 35). However, as long as disparities are not arbitrary or capricious or racially biased, as long as they are rational, predictable, and based on a compelling social interest, they are justifiable. Offenders voluntarily risked their age-based punishment, by committing their third offense. They have no right to parity.

The toll crime takes on life, liberty, and property, on our personal and business activities, makes it imperative to reduce crime rates. Crime rates will not be reduced by the House bill's expensive "preventive" measures, but they can be reduced by increasing the risks criminals volunteer to assume—especially the risks run by criminals under 45. □



Without Cloak or Dagger

THE OPPENHEIMER FILE

There is a rush to dismiss the Sudoplatov book, lest it convince people that the 'witch-hunters' were right. But there are ways of testing its credibility—and they mostly come up positive.

ERIC BREINDEL

IT'S HARD to recall any other recent memoir generating the kind of outrage that has greeted *Special Tasks*, an autobiography by retired KGB Lieutenant General Pavel A. Sudoplatov. Historians have labeled the book "a disgrace." The council of the 43,000-member American Physical Society, the world's largest group of physicists, has denounced it for (believe it or not) eroding "public trust" in science. Nobel Laureate Hans Bethe deems *Special Tasks* a "web of lies." A special Wilson Center colloquium was convened largely to discredit the book.

Why all the excitement?

Sudoplatov, who has long been known to students in the field as one of the most powerful personalities in the Stalin-Beria KGB, asserts, among many other things, that key physicists who worked on the American atomic bomb—J. Robert Oppenheimer and Enrico Fermi included—were knowing sources of information for Soviet operatives at Los Alamos and elsewhere.

The book, moreover, bears a stamp of respectability that distresses its critics. It has been excerpted in *Time* magazine and has been featured on *MacNeil-Lehrer*. Indeed, Robert Conquest, the leading living authority on the Stalin era, has described *Special Tasks* as "the most sensational, the most devastating, and . . . the most informative autobiography to emerge from the Stalinist milieu." This isn't to

suggest that Conquest endorses every claim in the memoir. He recognizes that this is a highly problematic piece of work; Sudoplatov makes mistakes, some of them serious.

But the book, which Sudoplatov wrote with the help of his son, Anatoly, and Jerrold and Leona Schecter, can't be dismissed out of hand. (Interestingly, Jerrold Schecter, formerly *Time's* Moscow bureau chief, played a key role in facilitating the 1970 publication of another Soviet autobiography initially decried as either fraudulent or inaccurate: the Khrushchev memoirs, the authenticity of which is no longer in question.)

The primary difficulty with Sudoplatov's claims about Oppenheimer, Fermi, and Leo Szilard turns on the fact that they are unsupported by documents from Soviet archives. Not that this invalidates the book. Oral history is an altogether legitimate form. Actual documentation may or may not still exist—if it ever did. And the Russian Intelligence Service, which controls access to most of the relevant archival material, remains highly active in conducting espionage abroad. (Indeed, the Aldrich Ames case makes it plain that the KGB-to-RIS transition was relatively smooth.) Spy services don't like to reveal the names of undiscovered agents, even if they've long since died. To do so has an unfortunate impact on current recruitment efforts.

Still, it would be unwise not to be wary of serious charges leveled against men who made outstanding

contributions to the U.S. war effort, especially when they're no longer here to defend themselves. Taking the word of a retired KGB general who may be looking to sell a few books would be folly.

Sifting the Evidence

FOR STARTERS, it seems wise to try to evaluate the book as a whole in order to assess its most controversial claims. If the author turns out to be credible on one subject, the likelihood that he's telling the truth on others increases.

The case of Willy Fischer (better known as Rudolf Abel) illustrates this potential approach. I mention the case because Sudoplatov provides a wealth of information on what Abel was actually doing in America during the nine years prior to his arrest in 1957. While the FBI knew that Abel was exceedingly important, it's not clear the U.S. ever learned much about the nature of his activities here. Certainly, little has been made public about the Soviet spy, who was swapped for downed U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers in 1962. Sudoplatov's detailed discussion of Abel's work should enable the bureau itself—or researchers with access to FBI files—to "walk back the cat" and verify at least some of the KGB general's claims.

A second method of evaluating Sudoplatov is to examine the tone in which he discusses other episodes of likely interest to Western readers; the Alger Hiss affair is a case in point. It

Mr. Breindel is editorial-page editor of the New York Post.

NATIONAL REVIEW

West



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HOLLYWOOD KNIGHTS

DAN GIFFORD

HOLLYWOOD and hypocrisy make a lovely pair. Nowhere are the double standards in the entertainment industry on sharper display than on the issue of private ownership of guns. While citizens with "assault rifles" were defending lives and property during the 1992 riots, Hollywood was on the eve of mounting a gun-control campaign that's been conducted through sermonizing and sub-plots in a host of TV dramas and sit-coms.

But while they blast the NRA, many entertainment luminaries are privately blasting away at area firing ranges, usually with unlicensed guns, apparently figuring they're above the law. "I see it all the time," says Beverly Hills Gun Club owner Arthur Kassel.

A few times, the curtain has been lifted on this practice. For instance, there was Dean Martin's arrest a few years ago for packing without a permit. Meanwhile, actor Wesley Snipes (*Demolition Man*) found himself in trouble for another reason: A Florida resident, he was busted in California for carrying a concealed weapon because local authorities

(Continues on page West-5)

THE WEEK IN THE WEST

■ There's great news for California gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown about the Jerry Brown endorsement. She's not getting it.

■ The California Learning Assessment System test—CLAS—might be a dubious tool for gauging scholastic proficiency, but it is wonderfully instructional in another sense: as a manual of the ideology of the up-to-date educrat. Over a growing chorus of protest—more and more parents are refusing to let their children be subjected to it—CLAS is being administered, for the second year, in grades four, five, eight, and ten of the public schools. It is short on old-fangled math and grammar questions admitting of right or wrong answers, focusing instead on coaxing undisciplined meditations out of the young wizards. An essay on an Alice Walker story is followed by the charge: write “what the passage means, what it reminds you of, what you don't understand, how you feel about it, or any other comments that seem appropriate.” After another fiction passage the student is presented the outline of an empty head and told to fill it with “symbols, images, drawing, and/or words.” It all calls to mind C. S. Lewis's lament, in *The Abolition of Man*, about the denial of analytical standards in modern literary textbooks, and, by extension, the rejection of other Absolutes. “Men without chests”—without soul, without awe, without reverence for virtue—would be the product of this relentless subjectivism, he forecast. Today, the media smirk that fundamentalists are fanning the opposition to CLAS. In a sense, that's true: the skeptics are people who value educational fundamentals, and who fear the prospect of a generation of empty heads—and hollow chests.

■ Move over, Spotted Owl. The Clinton Administration has unveiled a species-protection plan for tens of thousands of acres of Oregon forest that targets many fungi, lichens, and mosses for special nurturing. What next: A federal ban on treating fungus infections?

■ A small bird, the gnatcatcher, has been removed from the endangered species list, opening the way to billions of dollars' worth of development in California. For environmentalists worried that only two thousand mating pairs of the birds are left, here's a

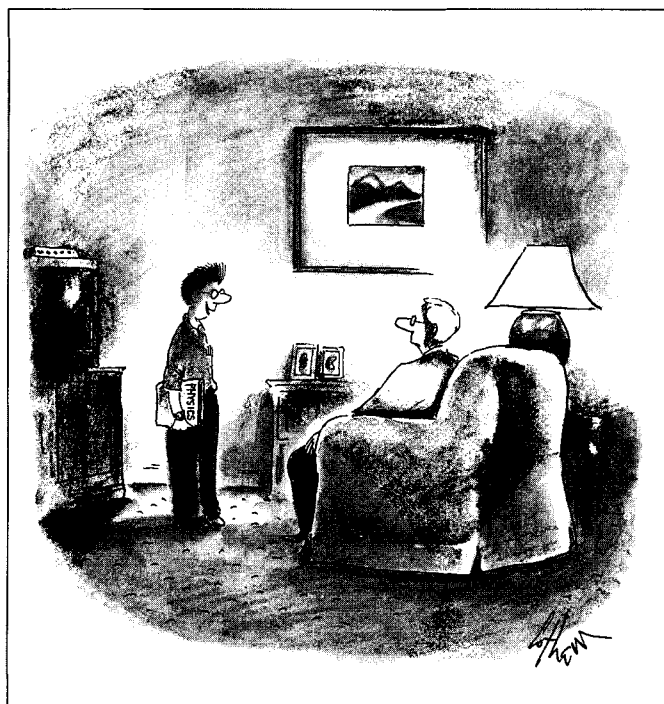
solution: Give one thousand pairs to Hillary Clinton and pretty soon there will be one hundred thousand.

■ Under terms of the federal crime bill, San Francisco would lose billions in aid from Washington if it doesn't revoke its status as a “city of refuge,” where illegal immigrants are assured of protection from federal authorities. But not to worry, San Francisco remains a spiritual refuge to the nation's nut growers, fruitcake bakers, and cuckoo-clock makers.

■ California is back in “drought watch” status after one of the driest winters this century. This could hamper media predictions that Kathleen Brown will dazzle voters by walking on water.

■ City plumbers in San Francisco average \$60,526 yearly—50 per cent more than plumbers for other Bay Area governments. And you thought the Water-gate plumbers were rip-off artists.

■ The Reason Foundation has come out with a report by University of Southern California economists Peter Gordon and Harry W. Richardson detailing the long tunnels of waste in Southern California's mass-transit programs. The Blue Line trolley, from Los Angeles to Long Beach, costs taxpayers \$37,489 per year for every car it removes from the freeways. Metro Rail, the subway project inching west and north out of Downtown, is being burrowed forward at a cost of hundreds of millions per mile, and rider-



“Kids who carry guns are losers, Dad. In two years I'll have my own atomic bomb.”

ship on the completed portion is below promises. Meanwhile, NATIONAL REVIEW reader Robert Mooney, director of public affairs at the Radisson Wilshire Plaza Hotel, along the subway route, writes that prolonged construction in front of his establishment has driven away more than \$1 million in business and caused substantial damage to the venerable building's structure. Oh, for the days when a train robbery meant being held up by an Eli Wallach-type in broad hat and bandana.

■ Taco Bell, headquartered in Orange County, threatened to leave the state because California's taxes are so high. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown responded with a pledge to push through some targeted tax relief. That won't help average taxpayers who can't win similar sympathy from Speaker Brown for their own plight. Until California gets political leadership that doesn't view rank-and-file residents the way the Martians in the *War of the Worlds* viewed the humans of Grover's Mill, throngs of productive Californians will continue their run for the border.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW reported last issue that Los Angeles's Disabled Access Commission ordered a nightclub to remove a shower where strippers perform because there was no wheelchair access for handicapped exotic dancers. That same panel had earlier proposed requiring wheelchair ramps for referees at Sports Arena basketball games (Mayor Richard Riordan managed to talk them out of that one). Commission members say they are just trying to enforce the Americans with Disabilities Act. Those of us who urged President George Bush not to sign that measure warned it would spawn stupidities. Even so, nothing obligates the commission to make war on employers by exploring the Act's illogical implications. This is one case where awareness of the law is no excuse.

■ In Northern California, the Americans with Disabilities Act has inspired several cities to come to the aid of supposed victims of "environmental illness" by drawing up lists of offending aromas to be banned from public buildings. You guessed it: *perfumes* are at the top of the lists being drawn up by Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, Oakland, and San Francisco, according to *California Lawyer* magazine. Soon, the only thing that will be allowed to offend our delicate noses will be Big Brother's body odor.

■ Government at work and play. The opening of the new Denver airport was delayed a *fourth* time when the multi-million-dollar automatic luggage-handling system continued to chew up suitcases and scatter the contents. Who designed this thing, a congressional committee?

Gun Battles

THE LATEST volley in the ACLU's war against the Second Amendment comes from the organization's Southern California chapter, headed by the redoubtable Ramona Ripston.

Miss Ripston, by the way, is married to Judge Stephen Reinhardt of the Ninth United States Circuit Court of Appeals, famed for midnight judicial gymnastics in efforts to void death sentences for murderers.

Actually, Miss Ripston would have us believe she's second to none in honoring the Second Amendment. It's just that she knows better than the unwashed what it's all about. "For far too long, the gun lobby's myths about the Second Amendment have prevented a rational debate about gun control," she harumphs. "As an advocate of our freedoms under the U.S. Constitution, the ACLU wants to set the record straight on what our forefathers truly intended about our right to bear arms."

The ACLU's slick new brochure argues that the Second Amendment was meant only to ensure that "states could maintain armed forces to resist the Federal Government. . . . The Second Amendment was never intended as a gun license for the entire American populace." The ACLU now thinks it's OK for the states to resist the feds? Maybe we *are* making progress.

But what in fact were the Founders' original intentions? The ACLU pamphlet and Miss Ripston are full of talk about "constitutional experts" and "most scholars," but quiet when it comes to names and documentation.

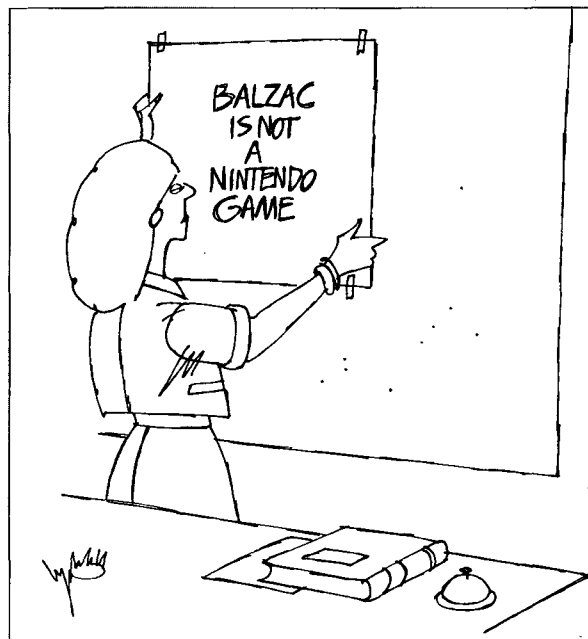
Small wonder. A new publication of the Claremont Institute takes a close look at the original understanding of the Second Amendment. Authors Edward Erler and Daniel Palm point out that the Framers were clear about the meaning of the right to bear arms. That right, like the others in the Bill of Rights, inhered in *individuals*, not states or organizations within states. Unlike the ACLU, Erler and Palm offer something quite useful to back up their case: quotations from the Founders. Consider Thomas Jefferson: "No free man shall ever be debarred the use of arms." Or Patrick Henry: "The great principle is that every man be armed. Everyone who is able may have a gun." Or Richard Henry Lee: "A militia when properly formed are in fact the people themselves . . . and include all men capable of bearing arms . . . To preserve liberty it is essential that the whole body of people always possess arms." Similarly forceful expressions are available from Thomas Paine, George Mason, John Adams and others.

The ACLU, in short, is again taking liberty with the Constitution and our liberties.

■ Family-values, Arizona-style: Gov. **Fife Symington** proposes abolishing the state's income tax. Taking care of a family today is expensive," he says. "It doesn't help when government keeps coming back for more of your paycheck every year." . . . Commenting on Symington's low-tax crusade, **Ronald Reagan** writes, "It comes as no surprise here that your economy is growing again, at a faster rate than the rest of the country." . . . Last summer, voters in Covina, California, booted their entire City Council in a recall election after council members enacted a utility tax. Now a movement is on in Fullerton to do the same to Mayor **A. B. "Buck" Catlin**, Mayor Pro Tem **Don Bankhead**, and Councilman **Molly McClanahan**, who voted that city a utility levy rather than trimming spending. . . . Economist **Wendell Cox**, writing for the American Legislative Exchange Council, reports that state workers in California earn 42.7 per cent on average more than private-sector stiffis; the public-sector advantage in Arizona is 15.5 per cent; Idaho, 18.7 per cent; Montana, 41.1 per cent; Nevada, 23.6 per cent; Oregon, 27.4 per cent; Washington, 17.5 per cent. . . . Leftward thrust of *San Francisco Chronicle* editorial page continues, illustrated recently by ode to Rep. **Don Edwards** (D., Calif.) and his claim that the death penalty is racially biased. *Chronicle* didn't mention that disproportionate number of minorities are crime victims. . . . In San Jose, Mayor **Susan Hammer's** budget chief, **Bob Brownstein**, bowed to criticism and removed bumper sticker that read, "Lobotomies for Republicans: It's the Law."

■ Pacific Legal Foundation's Rent Control Project, headed by **R. S. Radford**, announces legal action underway or pend-

ing in both Berkeley and Santa Monica on behalf of aggrieved landlords. "The unifying theme . . . is that rent control violates . . . constitutional rights." . . . **Clint Bolick's** Institute for Justice is defending Seattle construction company owner **Nona Brazier**, who happens to be black, in her bid to strike down the **Davis-Bacon Act**, which requires contractors to pay union wages on government projects. Brazier says her firm "no longer offers job opportunities because of racist federal legislation enacted more than 60 years ago, which is fulfilling its original, explicit intent: to keep black firms from competing for and winning federal construction projects." . . . **Jeff Leichteiter**, vice president of Tim's Potato Chips in Auburn, Washington, has a hunch why the business climate isn't stronger than it is: his own firm is regulated by fully 13 local, state, and federal agencies, from OSHA to the King County Finance Department to the Puget Sound Water Quality Authority. New federal rules go so far as to require Tim's to change the phrase "no salt" to "unsalted."



■ Meanwhile, gay and lesbian students at San Jose State University have begun a fund drive for the school's first gay scholarship, named after lesbian leader **Wiggys Silversten**. . . . A mock "memorial service" for the moribund humanities—the passing of **Homer, Plato, Dante** from the campus scene—was held at Stanford by a group of 70 poets and professors, including Hoover Institution's **Robert Conquest**, Claremont McKenna College's **Ricardo Quinones** and Stanford emeritus professor of French, **Robert Cohn**. . . . Officials at UC San Diego's Fifth College—one of the five undergraduate facilities on the La Jolla campus—announce they hope to name their college after **Eleanor Roosevelt**. . . . In Phi Beta Kappa's *Key Reporter*, former San Francisco State University English Department Chairman **Kay House** says she was driven to retire because "distinguished poets, teachers, and scholars were having their courses challenged and even altered by feminists and other politically correct advocates who have no academic qualifications to boast of (the highest degree was ABD—All But Dissertation)." . . . Albuquerque's public schools banned gang-like clothing, so the ACLU rode into town. The "recalcitrant kid in baggy pants is the mascot of the white [ACLU] lawyer in the business suit," writes **Thomas Sowell**. "For years, this kid may pay the price of looking like a bum, while the well-dressed lawyer will 'make a statement'—ultimately at the kid's expense."

■ Religious News Service reports that defrocked avant-garde Catholic priest **Matthew Fox**, "will mark his new identity as an Episcopalian with a high-tech, high-decibel 'Rave Mass' later this year in the basement of Grace Cathedral" in San Francisco. He got the idea from group of unorthodox young Anglicans in England—"where the 'Rave in the Nave' features loud music, women dancing in bikinis and video monitors flashing messages such as 'Eat God.'" Said Grace Cathedral's dean **Alan Jones**: "I'm grateful it's in the basement." Bishop **William Swing** of Diocese of California says Fox's "understanding of **Jesus Christ** is orthodox."

(Continued from page West-1)

wouldn't recognize the gun permit issued to him in Florida.

Fred Dryer (*Hunter*), James Caan (*The Godfather*), producers Jerry Weintraub (*Karate Kid*) and Richard Donner (*Lethal Weapon*) and comedi-

ans Buddy Hackett and Norm Crosby, among others, all have permits to carry concealed handguns. But none has gone to bat for average people seeking

Gun Fallacies

AFTER California State Senator David Roberti survived a recall election last month, some sympathizers in the media professed to see a mandate for more of the stiff gun-control measures for which he has become famous. In anticipation of that onslaught, a few observations:

Aside from their criminological irrelevance, gun-control laws exhibit three unfortunate characteristics:

1. Because there is an inverse correlation between knowledge of firearms and belief in gun control, gun laws are drafted by people so ignorant that they cannot clearly and sensibly formulate the policies they want implemented.

2. The atmosphere of hysteria in which such laws are generally enacted also maximizes capriciousness and inconsistency.

3. Handgun Control, Inc., and other groups that promote such laws don't care about problems 1) and 2). They blame the evil done by the 1 per cent of aberrant and/or criminal gun owners on the 99 per cent of ordinary owners—people whom criminological studies show never misuse their firearms.

Bans on "assault weapons" epitomize these three problems. So badly drafted was the "model" for such laws, California's 1989 Roberti Act, that in 1992 its list of banned "assault weapons" had to be amended to omit several firearms that didn't exist. (The amendment itself misspelled the names of two others.) Impelled by gubernatorial ambitions, John Van de Kamp, the attorney general in 1989, was the Act's major backer. But an internal memorandum from his Department of Justice (DOJ), which administers the Act, describes its ban list as "an odd collection of firearms" whose sale and possession by ordinary citizens "constitute[s] no conceivable threat" to

public safety. For instance, the Act bans the BM-59 rifle made by Springfield Armory, but not the Beretta BM-59—both rifles being linear descendants of the WW II U.S. Army Garand which is also not banned.

In theory, the Beretta (though not the Garand) being identical to the banned Springfield, could be added under the Act's judicial "add-on" procedure. But that procedure is itself unconstitutional as the following hypothetical scenario of how it could operate shows: On September 3, a hunter living in remote Alpine County buys a Beretta BM-59 from his local gun store. He has no reason to doubt the legality of hunting with it. It is not listed as an assault weapon in the Act and is used by thousands of other California hunters. Moreover, under California's general gun laws his purchase had to be cleared by DOJ (during the state-mandated 15-day waiting period). DOJ not having disapproved it, the Hunter picks the rifle up on September 19. But on September 21 the attorney general obtains a court order temporarily activating the Act's sanctions against Beretta BM-59s. The Act requires only that this order be published in ten newspapers across the state. The Alpine County hunter doesn't read legal notices even in his own paper, much less the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Examiner*, etc. Nor does the attorney general send him actual notice of the order. (But actual notice is given to every DA's office and police department.) So when the hunter goes hunting with his new gun on October 6, he is arrested and thereafter tried, convicted and sentenced to the minimum four-year prison term. He has no defense to the charge of transporting an illegal gun.

A DOJ internal memorandum of a couple of years back ends with the wail: "The more our staff has worked with the [Roberti Act] the more confused they have become. How the average cop on the beat or Joe Six Pack

who owns one of the weapons will ever figure it all out escapes me."

Another DOJ memo declares, "After two years of attempting to decipher the [Act] and interpret registration documents submitted by well-meaning citizens, we have come to the conclusion that utilization of the [banned gun] list or the attempt to correct the list is a futile effort. . . . The general public is very confused."

So are police and DAs, as scores of erroneous arrests and even prosecutions over the law's first five years attest. Consider *People v. Dingman* (1994): Harold Dingman bought a rifle which DOJ says is not banned by the Act—and Dingman cleared DOJ's background check. But two years later Dingman was arrested for possessing the supposedly illegal rifle. Now unemployed because of Silicon Valley's slump, he could not afford bail and served more than a month of pre-trial detention. Eventually he pleaded guilty to a Roberti Act felony. He belatedly had a lawyer seek to set the plea aside when he learned that DOJ would support his claim. The Santa Clara County DA's office opposed the motion, saying its position is that the firearm is covered by the Act regardless of what DOJ thinks. (The court eventually granted it and the DA decided not to appeal. There is, of course, no redress for Dingman's having spent five weeks in jail. Citizens are required to know the law—or else; but police and prosecutors are immune from suit for good-faith error in understanding those same laws.)

The anti-gun lobby's fevered hostility to gun owners and indifference to fundamental fairness is epitomized by a memorandum that Handgun Control, Inc., sent DOJ addressing such problems. Handgun Control's position is that it doesn't matter that gun owners can't determine whether their firearms are governed by the Act. They'll find that out when they're arrested for violating it!

—DON B. KATES JR.

Mr. Kates is a San Francisco criminologist and constitutional lawyer.

to enjoy the same right in the name of self defense. Neither will many of the judges, lawyers, public officials, and various well-connected types one finds sporting permits. Consider Michael Yamaki, the former Los Angeles Police Commission member, who has a permit but voted against making it easier for others to get one.

In Hollywood, fear of being blacklisted has to play into the reluctance of many people to own up to owning guns. Indeed, screenwriter David Mamet (*Glengarry Glenn Ross*) found himself "outed" as a pistol owner in one magazine article that, fortunately for him, apparently didn't receive wide attention. He is careful enough not to go public himself.

The secretiveness isn't universal, though. Clint Eastwood, Cybill Shepherd, Park Overcall (*Empty Nest*), Joanna Kerns (*Growing Pains*), and Patrick Duffy all admitted in *TV Guide* last year to owning guns for protection.

Susan Howard and Steve Kanaly (both from *Dallas*) have long publicly advocated full gun rights for responsible citizens, and indeed have appeared in National Rifle Association ads. And of course, Charlton Heston and Robert Stack have made themselves prominent in support of the NRA.

Presumably the specter of blacklisting isn't the only thing that cows those stars that keep guns and keep quiet. There is also the pervasive media bias that frames the issue in the public arena. "You mean you're not going to say they're wrong?" is what shocked *Los Angeles* magazine staffers asked editor Lew Harris recently when he said a planned article would accurately print the views of a cross-section of Angelinos who own guns, thereby challenging the usual media slant.

The Establishment position has been delivered in Olympian tones in a series of *Los Angeles Times* editorials calling for the banning of handguns. In this general thrust toward disarming the law-abiding, much of the law-enforcement community, apparently craving a monopoly on protective weaponry, concurs. "Your government," comments UCLA Criminologist James Q. Wilson, "having failed to protect your person and property from criminal assault, now intends to deprive you of the opportunity to protect yourself."

What the gun-control zealots won't

remind you is that firearms restrictions were first devised in the Jim Crow South as a means of keeping blacks disarmed and vulnerable.

Even early Northern statutes were suspect. New York's 1911 Sullivan Law requiring police permits to own or carry guns may at least in part have had a political motivation. "It was actually a Tammany Hall ploy to jail troublesome opponents by planting weapons on them, and to assure only the gangs that Tammany used to intimidate political opposition were armed," says Stephen Sullivan, a PhD candidate in history at Columbia University. "Sewing one's pockets closed to keep weapons from being slipped into them became common practice," adds writer Luc Sante, author of *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York*.

Is a firearm 43 times more likely to hurt its owner, his family, or friends, than to stop criminals? The Emory University study that yielded this claim has been widely trumpeted by the media. Not much reported, however, is the fact that 53 per cent of the households surveyed had a member with a record of at least one arrest prior to the in-home homicide that the study seized on; 32 per cent of the examined households had histories of domestic violence; 25 per cent had experienced alcohol abuse, and 32 per cent had a record of drug abuse. Not necessarily a sampling of law-abiding Middle Americans, in other words. Of the up to 250 million estimated firearms in America, how many are likely to be found in stable, orderly homes and families? The Emory study won't tell you about this silent majority.

What this and similar reports—and their press and TV flackers—fail to

look at are the overwhelming majority of cases where guns have been used in self defense and no one was killed. Dr. Gary Kleck of Florida State University's School of Criminology estimates that "guns of all types are used for defensive purposes about 1 million times a year," and that "guns of all types are used substantially more often defensively than criminally." Of these defensive uses of weapons, "over 98 per cent involved neither killings nor woundings, but rather warning shots fired or guns pointed or referred to."

But not all effective self defense can end without bloodshed. Professor Kleck estimates that each year, civilians, engaged in legally sanctioned self-protection, kill more than two-and-a-half times as many felons as police do. Meanwhile, private citizens who defend themselves with firearms usually escape injury: Kleck's analysis of Department of Justice victimization surveys shows that of people who use weapons to defend themselves against assault, only 12 per cent are injured, and only 17 per cent of those who use weapons to resist robbers are injured.

A National Institute of Justice analysis a couple of years back was likewise consigned to oblivion in the media. The NIJ's finding: "It is clear that only a small fraction of privately owned firearms are ever involved in crime or violence, the vast bulk of them being owned and used more or less exclusively for sport and recreational purposes, or for self-protection."

This, of course, is true even in Hollywood and other establishment power centers—where so many luminaries, while partaking of the right themselves, would just as soon that you, chump, be denied the freedom to emulate them. □

Surveying the Nation

JUST THE FACTS MA'AM

PETER ALAN KASLER

SEVERAL members of the California Legislature, including Republicans Ross Johnson, Trice Harvey, and Richard Rainey in the As-

sembly, and Maurice Johannessen and Bill Leonard in the Senate, are promoting legislation to reform California's Carrying Concealed Weapons

(CCW) laws, to make licenses easier to obtain for law-abiding citizens.

Criminological studies show that victims use guns to defend themselves three times more often than criminals use them to commit crimes; that resisting with a gun makes a person only half as likely to be injured as does submitting to a violent attacker; and that armed citizens prevent as many as 2.5 million crimes yearly, the vast majority with no injury. Yet in California, the current CCW rules make access to concealed weapons easy only for lawbreakers.

Crime dropped in the several states that recently changed from so-called discretionary licensing statutes (where the burden is on the applicant to show that he or she is fit to be licensed) to non-discretionary statutes (where the burden is on the state to show otherwise).

Before Florida loosened its CCW law in 1986, its murder rate was 36 per cent higher than the national average, but now it is 4 per cent lower—and has dropped 20 per cent since the reform. In the three years since Oregon reformed its CCW laws, the murder rate has dropped 20 per cent, while

the U.S. rate as a whole rose 8 per cent; and in Idaho—where CCW reform came a year before Oregon's—the murder rate declined 33 per cent the first year.

WASHINGTON State has had a successful non-discretionary CCW scheme for several years, and on April 15 of this year, Arizona's legislature overwhelmingly passed a reform statute.

That leaves California as the only Western state without a reasonable CCW law, a sad fact reflected in high crime rates. Those states with the most lenient CCW laws have low crime rates; the opposite is true in such places as the District of Columbia, New York City, Chicago, and other communities where very few concealed-carry licenses are granted.

One interesting measure is the ratio of licensed citizens to the general population. In Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, and Nevada, crime is comparatively low, and the ratio of licensees to population is about 1:25. In California, where crime is epidemic, there is only one licensed citizen for every 794 people.

When criminals know that some citizens carry guns, but they don't know which ones those are, assaults such as

rape, robbery, and car-jacking go down. In Florida, violent criminals shifted their focus away from residents and began attacking tourists and others just getting off planes because they were the only ones the thugs could count on being unarmed.

Just the other day I was told by an Oregon sheriff that since that state's CCW reform, crime has significantly shifted away from robberies; burglaries are now more in vogue, it seems, because they aren't as likely to provoke a violent response from victims.

Because California's current discretionary CCW law permits it, local law enforcement officials outrageously abuse their power by denying licenses to upstanding citizens. For about 17 years, the LAPD issued no licenses at all. San Francisco has granted only seven of them. A number of other communities with out-of-control crime likewise have allowed few CCWs, including Oakland, Richmond, and San Jose.

More and more, average people are awakening to this injustice. If gun-control zealots in the legislature, particularly Willie Brown's troops, don't come around, Texas Senator Phil Gramm might be right: "They'll be hunting Democrats with dogs by the end of the century." □

Mr. Kasler is a writer and lobbyist in Northern California.

Celebrity Corner

■ When she was mayor of San Francisco, Dianne Feinstein pushed through an ordinance prohibiting anyone except police officers and a few select others from possessing handguns. The state attorney general, the San Francisco district attorney, and the legal office of the legislature all advised Mayor Feinstein that such a law implemented by a locality would be illegal, but she pressed ahead nevertheless. Only after lawyer Don Kates brought an action challenging it in court was the ordinance struck down.

Interestingly, prior to becoming mayor, Dianne Feinstein obtained one of the only licenses to carry a concealed handgun (CCW) issued in the Bay Area in 1980, indeed, one of the few ever issued by San Francisco. She obtained it because her house had once been machine-gunned while she was out of town; presumably she

felt that a five-shot .38-caliber revolver would offer her a measure of protection.

Later, as mayor, to celebrate the enactment of her handgun ban, she stood in front of cameras, on the steps of San Francisco City Hall, and surrendered a handgun that wasn't even hers (it was provided to her for that purpose by the chief of police), while her own was actually in her purse upstairs in the mayor's office.

■ Star and producer of *Hawaii Five-O*, Jack Lord, is on record as one of the most anti-gun people in Hollywood. "I think all guns should be taken out of the hands of the citizens," he's been quoted as saying. As Steve McGarrett on *Five-O* he delivered tirades against firearms. One example: "What is this love affair? What is this fascination that Ameri-

cans have with guns? . . . Handguns have one conceivable use, crime." Several years ago, at the height of his show's popularity, Lord attempted to buy a pistol from a San Francisco gun dealer, but couldn't get it for the price he wanted.

■ Don Perata is an Alameda County, California, supervisor who has railed against guns for years, proposing a law to require all gun buyers to have their photos and fingerprints taken before being allowed to make a purchase. Recently he has been pushing for a "zero tolerance" plan under which anyone found on the street with a gun would go to jail. What Perata doesn't trumpet is the fact he has one of the very few licenses to carry a concealed weapon issued in Alameda County, allowing him to carry a Beretta in a shoulder holster.

Your Papers, Please

LAST MONTH, while a guest on Peter B. Collins's liberal radio show on San Francisco's KSFO, I was called a Nazi by a caller. Nothing remarkable there. As a registered Republican in Beijing by the Bay, I get called a Nazi all the time. Another caller later took exception to my being called a Nazi, which made me realize that I've gotten so used to being called a Nazi I don't get indignant anymore.

I can't guest on a talk show without being called either a "Nazi," a "fascist," or "Rush Limbo." In this era of the televised town meeting, ideas rarely are discussed on merit. Ideas don't stand on their own anymore. They are attached to whomever espouses them.

I write this not to portray conservatives as the latest anointed victim class. This country has enough anointed victims. I write this to point out an insidious straitjacket that inhibits critical thought in America.

I figure it started with the well-known fact that liberals are good people because they are willing to tax themselves for the benefit of others, while conservatives are greedy, wheeling folk because they would clutch onto their earnings. If conservatives were better people they would be eager to fund programs that pay the salaries of selfless liberals.

One who does not appreciate the good that liberals do is inherently evil. A Nazi. Or Rush Limbaugh. No difference. Evil is evil; it's only a question of degree. If Limbaugh does not act like a Nazi, it is only because he is afraid to release the Nazi within.

Those who do not agree with liberal thought, therefore, must have a good reason—the thought police's version of a hall pass—for deviating. Do you believe that a minimum-wage job is less demanding than being on welfare? I wrote as much and got a phone call from a local columnist demanding to

know if I've held bottom-rung jobs. I have. I passed. If I had not, I would have had no moral right to promote this concept.

There is no requirement, don't you know, for being allowed to hold the opposite view. You do not have to have held a minimum-wage job to know that it is demeaning.

Have you been raped? If not, don't opine on rape-related issues. Not only must you have been raped to hold a worthy opinion on these matters, but also you must be willing to declare what happened to you—how else would people really know whether your opinion should be listened to?

Angry at the public schools? Anyone can be angry at the level of school funding (too low) or the condition of the classroom (too shabby). But don't criticize the teachers' union unless you yourself have taught in a classroom.

If you are not a white male, you better stick with the pack in your opinion. Deviate from the pro-forma position at the risk of being branded a self-loathing woman, homosexual, or minority. After all, membership in an oppressed group automatically bestows on you a broad array of positions—pro-choice, pro-quota, pro-taxes, anti-Proposition 13. In the name of diversity in color or gender, deviation in political thought will not be tolerated.

If all else fails, the cult of personality will try to hang you on The Hypocrisy Issue. If the Left can show any

way in which the espouser does not live up to his plank, both idea and proponent are discredited.

Immigration is the issue of the day. I oppose giving some benefits to illegal aliens, therefore I am a racist or poor-basher, because some people out there who share my views are racists or poor-bashers. (When Mr. Limbaugh was kind enough to mention that we are old friends, a reader wrote to tell me she could never read my column without thinking that I was friends with this horrible man of horrible ideas. My thoughts, it seems, were guilty by biographical association.)

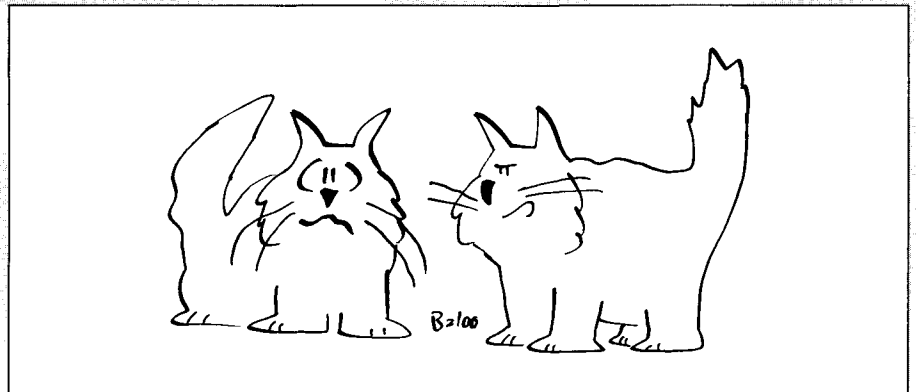
Other ways to discredit those who believe the government should not give long-term benefits to illegals: Hit adherents for a) once having hired an illegal immigrant (it's hypocritical to pay them, but not to pay taxes for their benefits), b) supporting big businesses that have hired illegals (that's the hit on Pete Wilson), or c) supporting unspecified welfare (probably business tax deductions) for the rich.

Of course, there is no biographical litmus test for those who support giving other people's money to illegals.

JACK Kevorkian's lawyer told me that I was wrong to quote Dylan Thomas when I wrote against assisted suicide, because the poet drank himself to death. Who was Thomas to tell people to rage against the dying of the light?

What a lovely trap. Since none of us can live up to our ideals, they all stand to be discredited by the taint of humanity. Unless one is Bill Clinton. His ideas are so lofty that it would be mean-spirited to weigh them against his actions. Liberal goals, you see, are so lofty, so selfless, that you can't expect mere mortals to live up to them.

—DEBRA J. SAUNDERS



"Oh, knock off the self-pity, will you—all cats are born out of wedlock!"

Miss Saunders is a columnist for the San Francisco Chronicle.

becomes apparent from his analysis of Hiss that Sudoplatov has a decidedly cautious approach to history. The general confesses to a lack of direct knowledge that Hiss was either “a paid or controlled agent” during the war years. He adds, moreover, that he would have known if this were in fact the case. Sudoplatov reports only that Hiss was described in wartime Soviet intelligence documents as “highly sympathetic to the interests of the Soviet Union.”

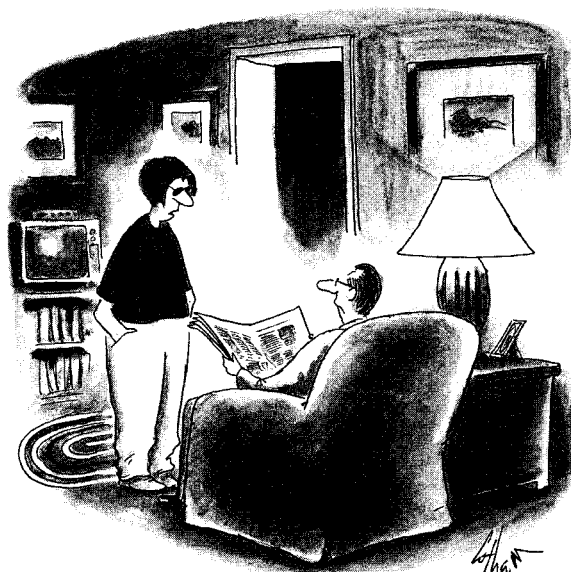
The general explains that, through conversations he has had recently with a friend who served as a “*rezident*” for the GRU (Soviet military intelligence) in London and New York, he has learned that Hiss was an actual “source of agent information” for a Soviet spy cell in Washington during the 1930s. The GRU cells in America, however, fell apart in the late 1930s, during Stalin’s purges; and Hiss, according to Sudoplatov, resisted wartime Soviet re-enlistment efforts. Still, Whitaker Chambers’s emergence in 1948 as a public witness against Hiss and others was, Sudoplatov reports, regarded in Moscow as a setback for the GRU’s activities in the United States. None of this is consolation for those who thought Hiss innocent.

Sudoplatov is far more careful than he would need to be in view of the fact that Hiss actually went to prison for perjury. Moreover, insofar as Hiss’s guilt has been established beyond doubt by serious scholars, Sudoplatov might easily have feigned greater direct knowledge of the case. Instead, he engages in some bizarre—and totally unnecessary—speculation.

Sudoplatov suggests that Hiss’s pro-Soviet sympathies were indulged by President Roosevelt and by Harry Hopkins; he guesses that Hiss was used to make contacts with Soviet intelligence agents during the war years precisely because his pro-Soviet orientation was known to his superiors. Sudoplatov believes that the Truman Administration knew a good deal more about Hiss than it let on in 1948. He thinks the decision merely to try Hiss on perjury charges was the result of a deal between the Truman White House and J. Edgar Hoover.

This, of course, is at variance with virtually everything we know about the Hiss case. It’s true that FDR was alerted to Chambers’s charges in 1939 by Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle and, apparently, laughed them off—but there’s no evidence whatever of any 1948 “deal.” Hiss was charged with perjury because the statute of limitations on espionage had lapsed. The FBI tried its best to collect every piece of evidence it could find in the effort to convict Hiss.

But just because so much has been published on this subject, Sudoplatov’s conjectures, fanciful though they may be, make his larger work more rather than less credible. The easy path would have been to rehearse what’s al-



“Dad, do me a big favor and get a second job.”

ready known and to embroider the tale with some added, unverifiable detail. Instead, Sudoplatov endeavors to reconcile the public record with his own knowledge, providing a bit of new information, admitting where he’s in doubt, and then positing an altogether unlikely scenario.

Not the mark of an author bent on deception.

In the end, however, the most compelling reason to take Sudoplatov’s claims about Oppenheimer & Co. seriously stems from the fact that he first advanced them well prior to his current effort to publish in the West.

Sudoplatov was purged by Nikita Khrushchev shortly after Stalin’s death and spent 15 years in various prisons. In his original 1982 appeal for rehabilitation—which was directed to then-KGB Chairman Yuri An-

dropov—Sudoplatov, in listing his “achievements,” notes his work in collecting information provided by Oppenheimer and Fermi as well as his role in the murder of Trotsky.

The appeal, needless to say, was not intended for Western consumption. Indeed, back in 1982, neither he nor Andropov could possibly have envisioned a circumstance in which, 12 years hence, Sudoplatov would publicize the document in question.

It doesn’t seem likely that someone seeking rehabilitation would make utterly false claims to the head of the KGB; Andropov was in a position to verify Sudoplatov’s “achievements.”

In this context, Sudoplatov’s report on Soviet atomic espionage seems far more credible. He dismisses Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as minor players, even as he confirms that they were spies. (Bad news for the dwindling, never-say-die Rosenberg lobby.)

Oppenheimer, Fermi, Szilard, and Klaus Fuchs, he argues, provided information that speeded up the Soviet A-bomb program. According to Sudoplatov, Fuchs—who confessed his crimes and served time in a British prison—was the only one actually to meet with Soviet couriers. The others—while working at Los Alamos, Oak Ridge, Berkeley, and Chicago—deliberately left important information in places where it could be discovered by agents Sudoplatov had insinuated into the laboratories.

Oppenheimer’s pro-Soviet orientation is no secret. His wife, mistress, brother, and sister-in-law were all CP members, and some scholars have concluded that Oppenheimer himself almost certainly joined the Party in the mid 1930s. Szilard and Fermi believed in sharing information on the atom-bomb project with the Soviets in order to hasten Hitler’s defeat. Niels Bohr, the legendary Danish physicist, also supported the notion of sharing data with Moscow; Sudoplatov asserts that Bohr knowingly provided technical assistance to a Soviet physicist/secret agent, one Yakov Terletsky.

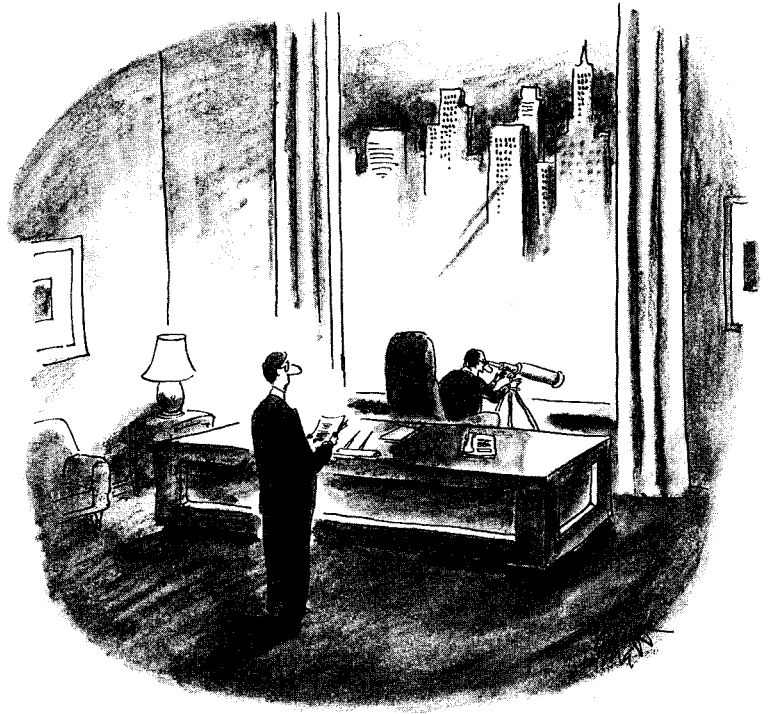
Espionage, needless to say, is an exceedingly serious charge—an entirely different matter from ideological orientation. But it is well to remember that the FBI and U.S. military intelli-

help

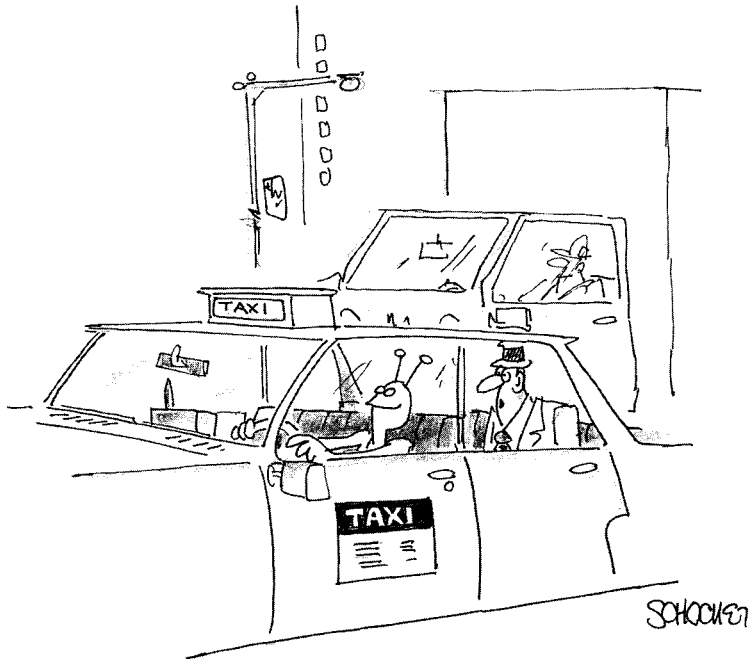
As Health Care Fades

Like the rage for Hula Hoops
Or, before, boop-boop-a-doops
That inevitably sagged
When the satiated gagged,
Hillary's obsession swerves
Down again like bell-shaped curves
As relieved asthmatics wheeze,
Thanks to Harry and Louise.

W. H. VON DREELE



"I knew it. There's someone smoking down there."

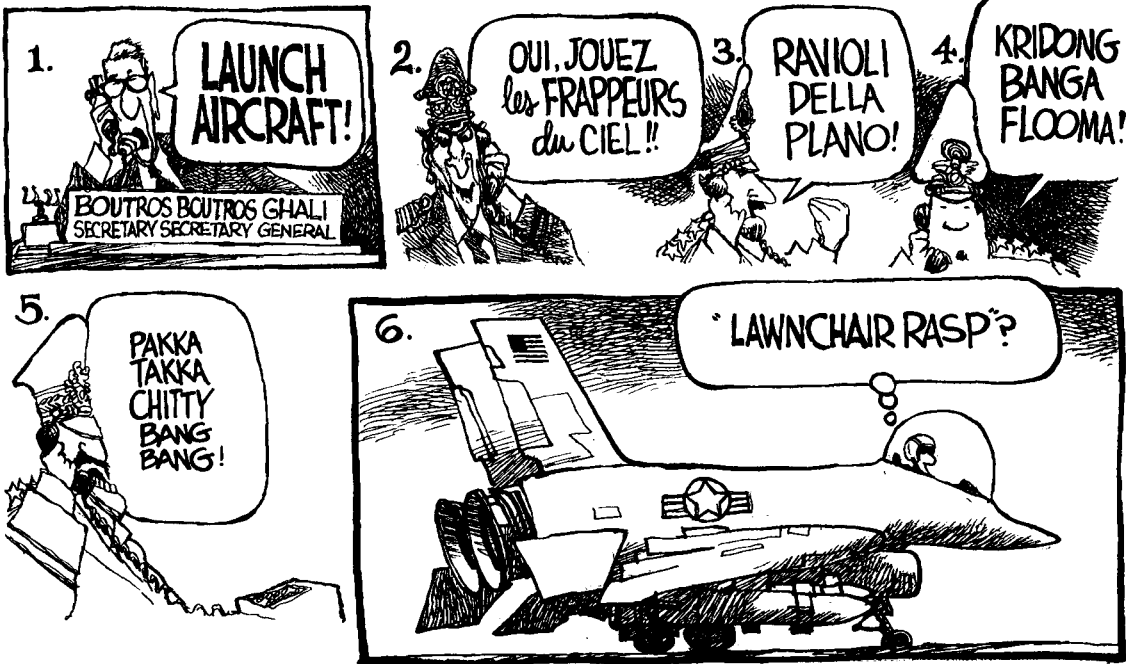


"Uh-oh—another alien cabdriver."



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The UN Chain of Command:



THE YOUNG BILL CLINTON.



"I cannot tell a lie. Hillary did it."

gence were profoundly concerned about Oppenheimer throughout the war years. The decision to appoint him to head the Manhattan Project was made by General Leslie Groves in the face of staunch opposition from U.S. intelligence authorities. Some years after the war, Oppenheimer was stripped of his security clearance. At the time, Diana Trilling argued that the circus-like atmosphere in which Oppenheimer's clearance was lifted seemed indefensible; the real point, she suggested, was that the clearance should never have been granted in the first place.

Sudoplatov provides a great deal of detail about the effort to recruit and work with Oppenheimer, who—he says—was instructed to sever his ties with pro-Soviet groups prior to his departure from Berkeley for Los Alamos. Oppenheimer's Soviet intelligence contact—Gregory Kheifetz, ostensibly a wartime diplomat based in Moscow's San Francisco consulate—is described in admiring terms by Sudoplatov. There's no question that Kheifetz was an important Soviet agent, nor is there any question that he and Oppenheimer knew each other well.

A Piece of the Puzzle

IN THE last analysis, this book must be taken as a piece of evidence, rather than as the final word. This applies not just to Sudoplatov's claims about Oppenheimer and other atomic physicists, but also to his report on Trotsky's murder and his account of Raoul Wallenberg's fate (He says Wallenberg was originally taken from Budapest to Moscow because top Soviet officials hoped the heroic Swede could be turned into a Soviet agent.)

Some of Sudoplatov's errors and/or misapprehensions need to be noted. It's profoundly unlikely that "through Fuchs we planted the idea that Oppenheimer, Fermi, and Szilard opposed the hydrogen bomb." Oppenheimer, initially, was an H-bomb proponent. Fuchs was long since back in England when the debate on the "Super" (the H-bomb) heated up. In any event, Fuchs lacked the moral and intellectual standing to persuade men like Oppenheimer, Fermi, and Szilard to take particular, political positions. It's also doubtful that Oppenheimer intervened, at the behest to Moscow, to bring Fuchs to Los Alamos. U.S.

documents indicate that the British team came as a virtual package. As for Niels Bohr, he reported his encounter with Terletsky to Western intelligence. Unfortunately, there are other questionable claims sprinkled throughout the account. Still, much of what's in *Special Tasks* fits with unpublished findings by Western researchers. And one begins to see a line emerging in the more thoughtful critiques of Sudoplatov: A number of historians have indicated that they're willing to believe Sudoplatov—except on the subject of Oppenheimer, et al.

Such a position seems hard to defend. Other controversies treated in *Special Tasks* may seem less threatening to the American academic estab-

lishment. But it's difficult to argue that Sudoplatov's analyses of Stalin's anti-Semitic purges, Trotsky's murder, the Wallenberg affair, the Hitler-Stalin pact, and many other key episodes are all better documented than his treatment of the physicists.

In the end, it seems well to hope that U.S. authorities are responsive to the American Physical Society's call for the relevant U.S. archives to be opened. While the group's manifest purpose is to discredit *Special Tasks*, it's hard not to wonder whether its members won't be in for unhappy surprises of the sort that greeted Hiss and Rosenberg partisans when they demanded access to the FBI's archives. □

The Case of Barlett & Steele

GEORGE BUSH'S TAX RETURN

The famed muckrakers are at it again;
let's have a look at their data.

JOHN H. HINDERAKER & SCOTT W. JOHNSON

DONALD BARLETT and James Steele are two of the most successful journalists in the United States. As reporters for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, they have won two Pulitzer Prizes. Their gargantuan nine-part series, "America: What Went Wrong?," was published in 1992 and reprinted in numerous newspapers. The series became an immediate best-seller when it was turned into the book of the same name.

Barlett and Steele's new book, *America: Who Really Pays the Taxes?*, has now been excerpted, syndicated, and run as a series in newspapers throughout the United States. It is undoubtedly destined for the same best-seller status.

The authors' answer to the question posed in the new book's title is—not

Messrs. Hinderaker and Johnson are Minneapolis attorneys.

surprisingly, in light of their earlier work—that the tax system is rigged against average Americans, who pay more than their fair share of income taxes while higher-income Americans pay less. This thesis is demonstrably false. Although average Americans are indeed overburdened by taxes, upper-income taxpayers are even more so.

Furthermore, although Barlett and Steele have described themselves as supplying "detailed information" that their readers "can get nowhere else," their economic journalism constitutes little more than slanted anecdotes mixed with statistical sleight-of-hand.

Who Really Pays the Taxes?

EVERY YEAR, the Internal Revenue Service analyzes tax returns and publishes data showing how much income was reported

and how much tax paid by taxpayers in various income groups. These IRS figures are widely distributed, and no one writing an entire book on the subject could possibly be unaware of them. Barlett and Steele's avoidance of these hard data is easy to understand, however, because the IRS figures destroy their thesis.

In 1991, the most recent year for which the figures have been compiled, the top 1 per cent of tax filers reported 13 per cent of the nation's total adjusted gross income (i.e., before most deductions), but paid 24.6 per cent of all federal income taxes. The top 5 per cent of taxpayers reported 26.8 per cent of the income, but paid 43.4 per cent of the taxes. And the top 10 per cent—those earning over \$61,952—reported 38.2 per cent of the income, but paid 55.3 per cent of the taxes. The bottom 50 per cent of tax filers, by contrast, reported 15.1 per cent of the income, but paid only 5.5 per cent of the taxes, leaving 94.5 per cent of the tax bill to be paid by those with above-average incomes.

Barlett and Steele contrast the present day with what they view as the golden era of the 1950s, when the top individual and corporate tax rates were higher than they are today. They argue that in recent years higher-income taxpayers have successfully pushed tax burdens onto those who are less well off. What Barlett and Steele fail to mention, however, is that the tax code of the 1950s was so riddled with loopholes that those top rates collected virtually no revenue because hardly anyone paid them.

IRS data show that the share of the total tax burden borne by upper-income individuals grew steadily from 1981 to 1991. It is particularly noteworthy that since 1982, when marginal tax rates were cut across the board, the proportion of taxes paid by upper-income people has *increased*. The share paid by the top 1 per cent of tax filers rose from 17.6 per cent in 1981 to 24.6 per cent in 1991; the share paid by the top 5 per cent went from 35.1 to 43.4 per cent; the share paid by the top 10 per cent rose from 48.0 to 55.3 per cent.

It is clear, therefore, that the central theme of Barlett and Steele's book is simply false. Upper-income Americans pay a disproportionate and growing share of the total tax bill. If middle-income Americans are overtaxed—

and they are—it is not because those above them on the economic scale are getting a free ride.

The Bushes' Tax Return

SHODDY and uninformed economic analysis is bad enough, but Barlett and Steele's portrayal of George and Barbara Bush's taxpaying record can only be described as maliciously misleading.

The authors argue that there are "two separate and distinct tax systems," one for "the rich and powerful" and one for "everyone else." The cen-

the needs of the powerless." That's a rather sweeping conclusion to draw from a comparison of two out of millions of tax returns. But is the comparison a fair one to start with?

It didn't take much investigation to find out that it isn't. The Bushes' 1991 tax return was made public when it was filed, and a number of news stories were written about it at the time. That return was newsworthy because the couple's income that year was three times as high as in any other year of Bush's Presidency.

Why? Because Barbara Bush earned \$889,176 in royalties on *Millie's Book*,



"Our employees are our greatest asset. I say we sell them."

terpiece of their argument is a comparison of the 1991 taxes paid by the Bushes and those paid by an Oregon resident named Jacques Cotton.

Under the rubric of "The Privileged Person's Tax Law," they report that George and Barbara Bush earned \$1,324,456 in 1991 and paid a total of \$239,063—18.1 per cent of their adjusted gross income in taxes. They report that Mr. Cotton, on the other hand, paid a total of \$6,618 in state, federal, and Social Security taxes on a gross income of \$33,499. Barlett and Steele calculate that these tax payments add up to 19.8 per cent of Mr. Cotton's income, a slightly higher percentage than the Bushes paid. This calculation is set forth under the heading "The Common Person's Tax Law."

Barlett and Steele conclude from this comparison that the American tax system "responds to the appeals of the powerful and influential and ignores

a humorous look at White House life written from the point of view of the family dog. And why were the Bushes' taxes relatively low, compared to their income? Because Barbara Bush donated substantially all of the proceeds of *Millie's Book* to charity—\$818,803, or 62 per cent of the couple's income that year. They contributed to 49 different charities, everything from Ducks Unlimited to the United Negro College Fund, but the main beneficiary was the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, which received \$789,176. After giving away more than 60 per cent of their income to charity, George and Barbara Bush had \$505,653 left, of which they paid \$239,063—47 per cent—in taxes.

Barlett and Steele must have known these facts, yet chose to mislead their readers by portraying George Bush as a greedy, tax-dodging rich person. We wondered why. In fact, we tried to find out why. We left numerous messages

for Barlett and Steele, but they declined to return our calls. We faxed a letter to them asking a number of questions, including why they failed to disclose the *Millie's Book* income and the Bushes' extraordinarily generous charitable contributions. But they de-

clined to respond. We also asked them for copies of *their* 1991 tax returns. Needless to say, we did not get them. But we think it highly unlikely that these tireless campaigners against greed have ever donated 62 per cent of their very large incomes to charity. □

The New Stereotypes

WHY LESBIANS AREN'T GAY

The old stereotypes about homosexuals have been discarded—in favor of new ones.

STEVE SAILER

A warm Saturday afternoon in late May brings all of Chicago to the lake-front. In the Wrigleyville section of Lincoln Park, softball teams with names like "We Are Everywhere" and "The 10 Percenters," compete with an intensity that should shame the Cubs. Girded for battle with sliding pads, batting gloves, and taped ankles, the short-haired women advance the runner, turn the double play, and hit the cutoff woman with a practiced efficiency that evokes admiring shouts from the women spectators.

Meanwhile, on a grassy lakeside bluff a few blocks to the south, the men of the New Town neighborhood bask, golden, in the sun. If ever a rogue urge to strike a ball with a stick is felt by any of the elegantly sprawled multitude, it is quickly subdued. The absence of athletic strife is certainly not the result of any lack of muscle tone: many have clearly spent the dark months in thrall to SoloFlex and Stair-Master. But now, the sun is shining and the men are content for their sculpted bodies to be rather than do.

WHAT ARE we to make of all this? What does it say about human nature and American society that so many enthusiasms of the average lesbian and the average

gay man diverge so strikingly? More immediately, why do the media refuse to notice it?

As with any other large collection of people, numerous fault lines divide homosexuals, but the most striking is the one separating gays from lesbians. (I use "gay" to refer only to male homosexuals. The media's habit of applying the word to female homosexuals is blatant male chauvinism. As one lesbian activist succinctly put it, "We're not gay, we're angry!") The current fashion of lumping together as "gays" everybody from Liberace to Martina Navratilova does something less than justice to public discourse.

The handy table of tendencies on the next page will of course be denounced as reflecting stereotypes. And yet the real stereotypers are the media themselves, which, in their endless and infinitely predictable reshapes of "Gays: Sinners against God or Victims of Society?" depict homosexuals as merely one-dimensional martyrs to prejudice. Whether portraying homosexuals as perverts in the past or as victims today, the press has always found it less taxing to preach morality than to try to understand reality.

Many journalists seem unable to distinguish between perceptive observations about the average traits of a group and blanket assertions about each and every group member. Thus,

even carefully worded summations of the obvious like, "Men tend to be more aggressive than women," are triumphantly refuted with, "So, you think Mister Rogers is more aggressive than Mrs. Thatcher? Huh? Huh?"

Ignorance Isn't Bliss

THE most useful of all conceptual tools for thinking about both the similarity and the diversity of human beings is the probability distribution (better known as the bell-shaped curve). But rather than help educate the public to think in terms of bell-shaped curves and individual variances, the press instead warns us to abstain from noticing average differences between groups on the theory that such knowledge might bias our treatment of individuals. Of course, these proponents of unsullied individualism often rhetorically clump humans into the grossest possible stereotypical categories (e.g., Gays, People of Color, The Marginalized, Anglos, Homophobes, the White Male Power Structure). Worse, this taboo endorses ignorance. Since the media spend so much time telling us to be oblivious to facts, it's not surprising that they themselves are suckers for frauds, like that now notorious media cliché, "10 per cent of all men and women are homosexual."

One of the cruelest effects of ignorance about homosexuals' propensities is the heartbreak it causes both a homosexual and his or her parents when the adult child finally reveals the Surprising Truth. We are told that if only the parents didn't hold outdated prejudices, the surprise would not be disappointing. Disappointment, however, is inevitable: the desire to pass on your genes to grandchildren is bedrock human nature. What is far more avoidable, though, is the surprise. A more worldly awareness of those likes and dislikes that correlate with sexual orientation could (although no such correlation is absolute) frequently allow parents to slowly get used to the likelihood that this child won't ever make them grandparents, but can still make them proud and happy in many other ways.

It's important to note that the different inclinations of gays and lesbians do not follow easily predicted lines. In roughly half the traits, homosexuals tend to resemble the opposite sex more

Mr. Sailer is a businessman and writer.

closely than the heterosexual contingent of their own sex. For example, many heterosexual men and lesbian women are enthusiasts for golf as well as other hit-the-ball-with-a-stick games like softball and pool. In a sympathetic recent account of lesbian athletes, a female sportswriter estimated, not implausibly, that 30 per cent of the Ladies Professional Golf Association touring pros were lesbians. In contrast to straight men and lesbians, pre-menopausal heterosexual women tend to find golf pointless; witness the fact that only one out of nine wives of PGA touring pros plays golf herself. And gay golf fanatics are so rare that it's difficult to even find an exception to prove this rule (which might explain why golfers wear those godawful pants).

Yet, for many other traits, homosexuals exhibit their own sex's tendencies to a heightened degree. For instance, all great classical composers have

been male. At least since Tchaikovsky, though, an impressive number of leading composers have been gay (e.g., Britten, Copland, Barber, Poulenc, Corigliano). In comparison, although "Women's Music" festivals play an important role in lesbian culture, their audiences distrust dazzling virtuosity, instead preferring simple folk songs with sincere lyrics. Overall, lesbian culture is intensely verbal, a bias that seems to stem from that feminine superiority with words that is measurable as far back as toddlerhood.

Looking for the Pattern

HAS ANYONE yet deciphered a Unified Field Theory that would explain all of these complex patterns? Not that I'm aware of, but we can't begin to look for one without laying out all the facts first.

The best criticism of this article's gay vs. lesbian dichotomy would be

that it doesn't go far enough. For example, people raised in Latin countries might think it peculiar that Americans label as "gay" both Truman Capote and that exemplar of murderous masculine charisma, Alexander the Great. Latins are inclined to care less than Americans about whom a man goes to bed with and more about what he does there.

Gay-vs.-lesbian distinctions are also important for thinking about public policies. Homosexual-related issues like gays in the military, AIDS, and same-sex marriages cannot be discussed realistically without acknowledging these wide differences on average between gays and lesbians. For example, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Atlantic*, and the newsweeklies have trumpeted evidence that homosexuality has biological roots. Generally overlooked, however, is that most of the research was performed on gay male subjects by gay

	Gay Male Tendencies	Lesbian Tendencies	Comments and Examples
Sex	Promiscuity Prefer sex in a semi-public spot Obsessed with beauty Avid for pornography Fantasy & degradation Young, thin, handsome Masculine stranger	Monogamy Prefer sex at home Resent male focus on beauty Outraged by pornography Less adventurous Looks not too important Feminine friend	Lesbian bathhouses in S.F. were a total flop It's dangerous to bring many strange men home <i>Death in Venice</i> , <i>Billy Budd</i> , other operas by Britten But verbal erotica popular with some lesbians Leather and S&M vs. cuddling These traits visible in newspaper "Personals" Only narcissists want lovers like themselves
Ideal sex partner			
Personality			
<i>Favorite picnic activity</i>	Sunbathe	Play softball	Softball has been the lesbian game since WWII
<i>Favorite bar activity</i>	Dance	Shoot pool	AIDS has decimated choreographers
<i>Attitude toward perfume</i>	Enjoy	Resent	"Scent-free" zones at lesbian/feminist venues
<i>Interest in fashion</i>	High	Low	Gay men very common in fashion industry
<i>Sense of humor</i>	Campy, self-deprecating	Satirical, political	You don't see many lesbian drag king shows
<i>Fantasy job</i>	Entertainer	Pro athlete	Lesbians about 30% of golf/tennis touring pros
<i>Motivated by need for</i>	Attention & adoration	Leadership & domination	Gay male figure skaters vs. lesbian army officers
<i>Distinctive trait</i>	Gay	Resentful	"We're not gay, we're angry!"
Careers	Upscale, creative People-oriented jobs Staff Frequently serve women Frequently work with women Gentrify risky urban districts	Downscale, blue-collar Machine-oriented jobs Line Seldom serve men Try to avoid working with men Form rural communes	Sadly, AIDS obituaries reveal gay job patterns Gays heavy in PR, recruiting, religion, spying Visible in military (gays go into medical corps) Gay hairdressers far outnumber lesbian barbers Olivia Records boycotted for hiring ex-male Men can live safely where women can't
Cognition & Culture			
<i>Cognitive orientations</i>	Visual	Verbal	Reflects typical orientations of male/female toddlers
<i>Ensuing jobs</i>	Art critic Photographer Antique-store owner	Literary critic Journalist Bookstore owner	College English departments, especially 7 Sisters Schizo fashion mags: gays' images, feminists' words Vast growth in "women's" bookstores
<i>Cultural tastes</i>	Arts Classical and avant-garde Turn humans into art objects Hierarchizing, snobbish Idolize Classical Greeks Music	Crafts Folksy, traditional Resent objectification Sensitive to lesser talents Resent Dead White Males Lyrics	Camile Paglia is exception proving these rules Winckelmann, Pater, Blunt, Acton Greek sculpture, Michelangelo's <i>David</i> "Expanding the Canon" Greeks made gay traits crucial to Western art In UK "musical" is euphemism for "gay"
Politics	Unpolitical, hedonistic Don't claim to speak for Men "Why I'm gay: Nature" Frequently persecuted Estimated 1% to 5% of population	Political, activist Claim to speak for Women "Why I'm a lesbian: Nurture" Frequently ignored Estimated 0.5% to 2.5% of population	Where is gay MLK Jr. or Malcolm X? 50% of NOW workers are lesbians Feminists see orientation as political choice Lesbianism legal under Victoria & Hitler Lesbians maybe half as common

male scientists and then hyped by gay male publicists. The lesbian population's profound ambivalence about this half-scientific, half-political crusade goes largely unreported. (For example, an attack on the theory that lesbianism has biological causes is one of the main themes of Lillian Faderman's fine history of American lesbians, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*.) This media reticence is noteworthy, considering that the press so assiduously keeps us informed of the views of the lesbian-dominated National Organization for Women on child-rearing, marriage, beauty, men and, of course, What the Women of America Want—subjects upon which lesbians might be presumed to have rather less expertise to offer than on the question of why they are lesbians.

Many lesbian feminists deny that their sexual orientation is biologically rooted, attributing it instead to what they perceive as our culture's decision to socialize males to be domineering. They may claim this to avoid undermining feminist theory, which is, well, "biophobic." (Yes, I know that insinuating that those who disagree with you must suffer from a mental disorder

is reminiscent of the imprisoning of Soviet dissidents in psychiatric hospitals, but, hey, once you get the hang of it, it's kind of fun.) On the other hand, the lesbians might be right and the gay researcher/activists wrong about the nature of homosexuality. Or, homosexuality might not have a single nature: at minimum, there could be a fundamental difference between lesbians and gays.

We would all profit from hearing this question openly hashed out. The ensuing brouhaha could help unshackle American intellectual discussion from the polite fictions about human nature that currently suffocate it. When discussing social controversies, the serious media accept the dogma that socialization is the root of all differences between people. While emotionally comforting to many, this faith in the omnipotence of nurture remains unproved, to say the least. By now, it seems inevitable that this creed eventually must be washed away by the ever-growing torrent of scientific evidence to the contrary (of which the research on the biological causes of male homosexuality is the merest rivulet). Yet the event most

likely to speed the day when it is politically and socially acceptable to discuss this fast-solidifying scientific consensus would be a public donnybrook between gay men and lesbian-feminists over nature vs. nurture.

Laboratory Conditions

THE GAY vs. lesbian dichotomy can cast new light on many social questions. Fundamentally, as Thomas Sowell has pointed out, almost all American social controversies rest on conflicting assumptions about human nature. Is it infinitely malleable? If not, what are its constraints? Whatever other purposes there may be for our existence, we know evolution has shaped human nature to promote the reproduction of the species. To study reproduction is to study sex and sexuality. To understand heterosexual men and women, it helps to observe homosexual men and women as a frame of reference.

For instance, honest discussion of the differences between lesbians and gays would generate fresh insights into what feminists imperialistically call "women's" issues. If feminist the-

<u>The Issues</u>	<u>The Stereotypes</u>		<u>The Complicated Realities</u>
	<u>Victims</u>	<u>Oppressors</u>	
<u>Homosexual Issues</u>			
Biological origins of homosexuality	Homosexuals	Unscientific traditionalists	Gay men support, but many lesbian-feminists dislike, the search for homosexuality's genetic roots.
Gays in the military	Homosexuals	The military	Controversy is largely over gay men, who aren't all that interested in enlisting, anyway. Lesbians like military more, do well in it, and are more accepted (de facto) by other soldiers and the brass.
Social discrimination	Homosexuals	Homophobes	Straight men find lesbians erotic in fantasy but tedious in reality. They find gays repugnant in concept, but often likable in person.
Homosexual marriage	Homosexuals	Heterosexuals	Lesbians more likely to want to <i>be</i> monogamously married. Gays, though, might want more to <i>get</i> married (in a big ceremony).
Homosexuals raising children	Homosexuals	The heartless	If lesbians can't mold their kids' sex roles, feminist belief in nurture over nature is undermined. Anecdotal evidence supports this: lesbian moms frustrated by sexist little boys and Barbie-nut girls.
AIDS	Everybody	1. Society 2. Ronald Reagan	Media's "We're all at risk" campaign covers up acute danger from being sodomized, causing ill-informed women to get HIV that way.
<u>New Perspectives on Feminist Issues</u>			
The "Beauty Myth"	Women	Men	Gay men dominate fashion/beauty industry. Also, gays want beautiful lovers; lesbians care much less.
Women in combat	Women	The military	Promotion-focused female officers (significantly lesbian) want combat. Survival-focused female enlistees (highly heterosexual) don't.
The "double standard"	Women	Society	Gays are far more promiscuous than lesbians.
Pornography	Women	Men	Gays buy lots of pornographic pictures of men. Lesbians outraged by erotic pictures of women, but some like erotic texts about women.
The "Glass Ceiling"	Women	Men	Lesbians more competitive (e.g., pro sports) and often more successful at leadership (e.g., army) than heterosexual women or gay men.
Diversifying the "Canon"	The Marginalized	Heterosexist WASPs	Gleaming pantheon of gay Dead White European Males from Plato to Proust.

ory is truly an attempt to make accurate predictions about reality rather than simply an elaborate rationalization for blaming your troubles on somebody else, then feminists should welcome a frank appraisal of the contrasting longings and ambitions of gays and lesbians, since this offers fascinating new perspectives from which to assay feminist hypotheses.

For example, feminists tirelessly denounce the fashion and beauty industry for socializing men to crave skin-deep feminine beauty. But which is truly the cause and which is the effect? Luckily, the analyst can study people who have rejected heterosexual socialization: among homosexuals, the distinctiveness of men's and women's basic sexual urges is especially vivid. Since "Women Seeking Women" don't need to entice men's visually focused desires, their newspaper personal ads tend toward wistful vagueness: *Attractive SWF, bi, seeking SF, feminine & discreet, any race, for friendship and possible rltshp*. In contrast, the "Men Seeking Men" classifieds bristle with statistics quantifying appearance:

John Wayne-type (41, 6'3" 210#, C 46' W 35', brn/grn) seeks Steve Garvey-type (muscular, str8-acting, 20-30, under 6' & 185#, blu eyes a +).

Designing Men

EVEN more egregiously swept under the rug by feminists like Naomi Wolf (author of *The Beauty Myth*) is the central creative role of gay men in the fashion business. Thus, feminist pundits routinely portray the current fad in *haute couture* for "waif" models as a conspiracy against women hatched by . . . yes, you guessed it, The Male Power Structure. This accusation always conjures up for me a vision of Alan Greenspan, Bill Gates, and Colin Powell resolving in secret conclave to put uppity women back in their place by ordering *Vogue* to print a lot of pictures of girls who look like boys.

Feminists' widespread (though hushed-up) exasperation with gay men probably originates in the perennial struggle of the "women's movement" to enlist enough Indians for its

ample supply of chiefs. In this battle for the female masses, it is the gay imagination that so often crystallizes the misty yearnings of femininity into those alluring images that help seduce heterosexual women away from the stern precepts of feminism. Would bridal magazines be eight hundred pages long, for instance, without the endlessly creative genius of gay men who make their livings sabotaging feminism's war on femininity?

The second helpful table, on page 44, summarizes the contemporary issues that the media insist on stereotyping in "victim" vs. "oppressor" terms, but where a frank exploration of the differences between gay men and lesbians offers new angles from which to slice through the cant.

We can never eliminate stereotypes. Instead, we should constantly search for better stereotypes, ones that more narrowly and accurately describe reality. The alternative is not some utopia without stereotypes, but our current intellectual dystopia, where the broadest, stupidest, and most dishonest stereotypes reign. □

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WHO BROKE THE EVIL EMPIRE?

The Reagan Cold Warriors, new evidence shows, knew exactly what they were doing, and why.

PETER SCHWEIZER

FIVE YEARS have now passed since the Berlin Wall was breached, the first material sign of the Soviet empire's decline and fall. As the annals of current history continue to be written, a great geopolitical riddle remains: Did the Reagan Administration somehow trigger the collapse of the Evil Empire?

Shortly after the demise of the Soviet Union, Strobe Talbott, on the talk show *Inside Washington*, said: "The difference from the Kremlin standpoint . . . between a conservative Republican Administration and a liberal Democratic Administration was not that great. The Soviet Union collapsed, the Cold War ended almost overwhelmingly because of internal contradictions or pressures . . . And even if Jimmy Carter had been re-elected and been followed by Walter Mondale, something like what we have now seen probably would have happened."

But a number of former Soviet officials don't see it that way. "American policy in the 1980s was a catalyst for the collapse of the Soviet Union," is the blunt assessment of former KGB General Oleg Kalugin. He adds, "Reagan and his views disturbed the Soviet government so much they bordered on hysteria. There were cables about an imminent crisis. He was seen as a very serious threat."

Yevgeny Novikov, who served on the senior staff of the Communist Party

Central Committee, recalls, "There was a widespread concern and actual fear of Reagan on the Central Committee. He was the last thing they wanted to see in Washington."

Former Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has said publicly that programs such as the Strategic Defense Initiative accelerated the decline of the Soviet Union.

Now there is new evidence that the Reagan Administration was far more active than had previously been believed. A paper trail of top-secret presidential directives indicates that in early 1982, President Reagan and a few key advisors began mapping out a strategic offensive designed to attack the fundamental weaknesses of the Soviet system.

Two canons of Reagan thinking drove the strategy. The first was the President's well-known anti-Communism, expressed in moral terms of good and evil. He did not believe that Communist regimes were "just another form of government," as George Kennan had once put it, but a monstrous aberration. When the words "evil empire" rolled from his lips, Reagan meant it. But the other important ingredient in his thinking (often overlooked) was his belief in the profound weakness of the Soviet Union. Some of his public pronouncements seem rather prophetic in retrospect. "The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and the spread of civilization," he told students at Notre Dame in May 1981. "The West will not contain Communism, it will transcend Communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chap-

ter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." In June 1982 he told the British Parliament: "In an ironic sense, Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are colliding directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union." He said that Marxism-Leninism would be left on the "ash heap of history," and predicted that Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself would experience "repeated explosions against repression."

Reagan's view was not even within shouting distance of conventional wisdom. Distinguished Sovietologist Seweryn Bialer of Columbia University opined in *Foreign Affairs* (1982): "The Soviet Union is not now nor will it be during the next decade in the throes of a true systemic crisis, for it boasts enormous unused reserves of political and social stability . . ."

Nobel Laureate Paul Samuelson declared in his textbook *Economics* (1981): "It is a vulgar mistake to think that most people in Eastern Europe are miserable."

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. declared after a 1982 visit to Moscow: "Those in the U.S. who think the Soviet Union is on the verge of collapse" are "only kidding themselves." "Wishful thinkers," he wrote, "always see other societies as more fragile than they are. Each superpower has economic troubles; neither is on the ropes."

In 1981 Strobe Talbott wrote: "Though some second-echelon hardliners in the Reagan Administration . . . espouse the early Fifties goal of rolling back Soviet domination of Eastern Europe, the U.S. simply does not have the military or political power to do that."

The direction of Reagan's Soviet strategy is most evident in National Security Decision Directive 75, signed by the President in early 1983. (An NSDD is a written order from the President directing his senior advisors on major foreign-policy matters.) The document was a break with the policy of containment, which had guided every previous postwar Administration. NSDD-75 declared instead a policy of rolling back Soviet power.

This article is excerpted from Mr. Schweizer's latest book, Victory, forthcoming from Atlantic Monthly Press. He completed it while a media fellow at the Hoover Institution.

NSDD-75 changed the terms of the superpower relationship. According to Professor Richard Pipes of Harvard, who drafted early versions of the document while at the National Security Council (NSC): "It was the first document which said what mattered was not only Soviet behavior but the nature of the Soviet system. NSDD-75 said our goal was no longer to coexist with the Soviet Union but to change the Soviet system. At its root was the belief that we had it in our power to alter the Soviet system."

The Birth of Rollback

THE Reagan strategy of attacking Soviet vulnerabilities first emerged in early 1982, shortly after the hammer of martial law descended on Poland. Pipes recalls: "The President was absolutely livid. He said, 'Something must be done. We need to hit them hard.'"

In January 1982, he spoke with his closest advisors, in a meeting where much of the National Security Council was not included. "NSC meetings were not considered leak-proof; he didn't want to risk anything," recalls Pipes. Also present were George Bush, Alexander Haig, Caspar Weinberger, Bill Clark, Ed Meese, and Bill Casey. There was a general consensus that the U.S. had to send a strong message to Warsaw and Moscow. Economic sanctions were universally supported. But then someone raised the stakes: What about covertly funding Solidarity to ensure that the only above-ground anti-Communist organization in the Soviet bloc would survive the cold winter of martial law?

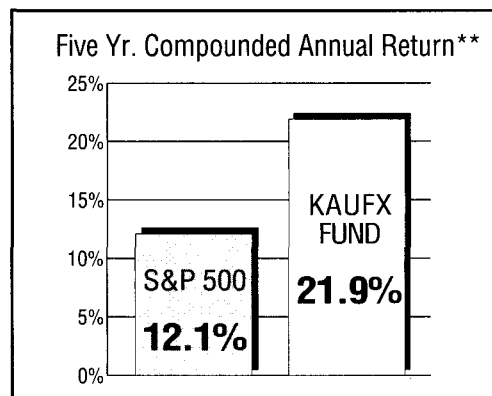
The specter of a risky covert operation haunted the room. After a few moments, Haig cut through the silence, calling the notion "crazy." Bush agreed, arguing that if the operation were discovered, it would only inflame Moscow. Pipes, Weinberger, Casey, and Clark, however, voiced enthusiastic support for such an operation. But the President "didn't need any encouragement," according to Pipes. He immediately ordered Bill Casey to draw up a plan. Over the next several months Casey arranged for the CIA to provide advanced communication equipment and material assistance to the tune of approximately \$8 million per year.

Next, the President asked Clark, his

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new National Security Advisor, to draw up a document redefining American goals in Eastern Europe. The directive that emerged was radical: the stated goal of U.S. policy would be to "neutralize efforts of the USSR" to maintain its hold on Eastern Europe. Reagan signed the directive in the spring of 1982. "In NSDD-32," recalls Bill Clark, "Ronald Reagan made clear that the United States was not resigned to the status quo of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. We attempted to forge a multi-pronged strategy to weaken Soviet influence and strengthen indigenous forces for freedom in the region. Poland offered a unique opportunity relative to other states like Bulgaria, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. This is not to say that we did not pursue activities—both overt and covert—in these other countries to loosen Moscow's grip." The activities included covert support for underground movements attempting to throw off Communist rule, and intensifying psychological operations (PSYOP), particularly broadcasts by Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

In tandem with the geopolitical counteroffensive in Eastern Europe, the Administration fired the first volleys of what would become a secret economic war against the Kremlin. Using Poland as a justification, the Administration in 1982 imposed sanctions on Moscow, intended to cut off most of the technologies needed for a massive new natural-gas pipeline from Siberia, and for an energy program on the Sakhalin Islands being co-developed with Japan. The sanctions went to the heart of Soviet income: energy exports, which accounted for 80 per cent of Soviet hard-currency earnings. U.S. sanctions, which Western Europe resisted, did not stop construction of the pipeline, but delayed it two years, and cut it back in size. The Kremlin was out \$15 to \$20 billion.

Meanwhile, the Administration realized that if international oil prices could be brought down, the U.S. economy, the world's largest importer of crude, would be the beneficiary, while the Kremlin, as a large exporter, could only be hurt.

The easiest means of bringing down prices was by raising world produc-

tion, and the key to that was Saudi Arabia, the "swing producer" for the OPEC cartel. The Saudis had historically changed their production rates to ensure stable and high oil prices; they could just as easily change them to cause prices to drop.

The Saudi Operation

TO MAKE the Saudis hospitable to Western interests, the Reagan Administration provided unprecedented security commitments to the Saudi royal family. There were of course arms sales (the AWACS deal in 1981 and the 1984 sale of Stinger missiles) in which the President used extraordinary powers to sidestep Congress. But the U.S. commitment went even deeper. Bill Casey's CIA helped



modernize Saudi internal security to help protect the regime from its domestic opponents. And the U.S. flexed its military muscle by establishing in 1983 a U.S. Central Command (USCENTCOM) for the Persian Gulf region, boasting an ability to mobilize 300,000 U.S. troops. In 1985 the U.S. began construction on "Peace Shield," a high-tech system manned by U.S. personnel to coordinate the defense of Saudi Arabia in case of attack. In addition, President Reagan himself expressed publicly (in 1981) and privately to King Fahd (in early 1985) his guarantee that so long as he was Commander-in-Chief, the royal family would not meet the same fate as the Shah of Iran.

Saudi Arabia, surrounded by multiple threats—South Yemen, Syria, the raging Iran-Iraq war—was clearly pleased, and the Administration hoped that this would lead to a change in Saudi oil-pricing policies. However, senior Administration officials insist that there was never any *quid pro quo* presented to the Saudis.

In the late summer of 1985, senior Saudi officials alerted the Administration that prices would soon drop. The Saudi decision to alert Washington to its production plans stands in stark contrast with the swings in Saudi policy that took America by surprise during the 1970s.

As production rose, prices plunged, from \$30 a barrel in November 1985 to \$12 a barrel five months later. And it cost the Kremlin dearly. "The drop in oil prices was devastating, just devastating," says Yevgeny Novikov. "Tens of billions were wiped away." A secret May 1986 CIA report noted that for every dollar-per-barrel drop in the price of oil, the Kremlin would lose a half-billion to a billion dollars per year. The report concluded that the price drop "will substantially reduce the Soviets' ability to import Western equipment, agricultural goods, and industrial materials . . . [This] . . . comes at a time when Gorbachev probably is counting on increased inputs from the West to assist his program of economic revitalization."

Dozens of large projects were brought to an end for lack of funds. By July 1986 it took almost five times as much Soviet oil to purchase a given piece of West German machinery as it had taken a year earlier. Arms exports (the number-two Soviet export behind energy) also plunged, because most sales were to Middle Eastern countries no longer flush with petrodollars.

As the Soviets faced this catastrophic drop in their income, they also faced the prospect of spending more of their dwindling resources on an arms race. U.S. defense procurement budgets rose by 25 per cent in each of the early Reagan years. By the mid 1980s, U.S. military expenditures were exceeding those of the Soviet Union for the first time since the late 1960s.

More than anything else, the de-

fense build-up—from SDI to conventional weapons—was predicated on high technology, a profound Soviet weakness. Computers and other advanced technologies were threatening to make old weapon systems obsolete—much as the tank had done to horse cavalry. As Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov put it: “The rapid development of science and technology in recent years creates real preconditions for the emergence . . . of even more destructive and previously unknown types of weapons based on new physical principles. Work on these new types of weapons is already in progress . . . most importantly the United States. Their development is a reality of the very near future, and it would be a serious mistake not to take account of this right now.”

Gorbachev himself shared this view, noting: “The competition that has grown more acute under the impact of scientific and technological progress is affecting those who have dropped behind ever more mercilessly.”

It Is No Accident . . .

DOCUMENTS reveal that the effect of the Reagan defense build-up on the Soviet economy was quite deliberate. A top-secret five-year planning directive for the Department of Defense, signed by Caspar Weinberger in early 1982, mentions the build-up could serve as a form of “economic and technical war” against Moscow. The Pentagon would push for “investment in weapon systems that render the accumulative Soviet equipment obsolete.” SDI was part of this strategy. Yes, the President wanted a strategic defense system. But according to one NSDD from 1983, a measure of success for the program was the economic costs it would impose on Moscow.

And it worked. By 1984, General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko declared that “the complex international situation has forced us to divert a great deal of resources to strengthening the security of our country.”

In 1985 General Secretary Gorbachev pushed for an 8 per cent per year jump in defense spending. “The U.S. wants to exhaust the Soviet Union economically through a race in the most up-to-date and expensive weapons,” he ominously warned.

By 1985, with a covert line of sup-

port running to Poland, a massive U.S. defense build-up, and the Kremlin facing a myriad of economic problems, the Reagan Administration dramatically expanded its commitment to rolling back Soviet power in Afghanistan. The program to aid the *mujahedin* began under Carter. When he first authorized covert support for the resistance in 1980, a top-secret finding declared that the U.S. goal was to “harass” Soviet forces.

By 1985, the Reagan Administration was far more ambitious. The President asked National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane to redefine and sharpen U.S. objectives in the region. The result was NSDD-166, signed by the President in March. The directive had several key elements, including a commitment to supply the resistance with more advanced weapons and better intelligence pulled from spy satellites. But most importantly, the long annex to NSDD-166 made the clear-cut goal in Afghanistan absolute victory. And an important ingredient in accomplishing that goal was a secret initiative to take the war into the Soviet Union itself.

Back in 1983, Bill Casey and Bill Clark had sat in the Oval Office mulling over the situation in Afghanistan. As Clark recalls, “The President and Bill Casey were determined that Moscow pay an ever greater price for its brutal campaign in Afghanistan.” Bill Casey suggested a bold move: What about widening the war to include military operations on Soviet soil? The President liked the idea.

Casey, as Director of Central Intelligence, took the proposal to the Pakistanis in 1984, during one of his periodic secret trips to Islamabad. Fred Iklé, the undersecretary of defense at the time, recalls that Casey “simply told Zia [the Pakistani president] and Yaqub Khan [the foreign minister], This is something that should be done.” Zia embraced the proposal and told Casey to raise it with General Abdul Akhtar and Brigadier Mohammad Yousaf of Pakistani intelligence (ISI), who were managing the war along the Afghan frontier.

In their regular meetings, Casey, Akhtar, and Yousaf covered a number of issues related to running a war. But this time, after dealing with the usual matters, Casey stood up and went to the wall map. The Soviet Union is vulnerable to ethnic tensions, he told his

hosts. Soviet Central Asia is the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union. We should smuggle literature to stir up dissent. Then we should ship arms, to encourage local uprisings.

Casey was the first one to have openly pointed out this vulnerability, Yousaf recalls, “I can vividly remember that he used this phrase ‘soft underbelly.’”

Taking the Administration’s suggestion, the ISI began a program to subvert and launch strikes into Soviet Central Asia. In 1985, the resistance began by spreading subversive literature provided by the CIA. By early 1986, strikes were launched from Afghanistan’s Jozjan and Badakshan provinces. The CIA outfitted these units with Chinese rocket launchers and special explosives, as well as rubber zodiac boats to cross the Amu River by night. Chinese 107mm rocket launchers with ranges of almost ten miles would be deployed at night along the south bank of the Amu River and fire a rain of explosives onto Soviet soil. Teams of specially trained *mujahedin* would make their way across the river to hit border posts, lay mines, and knock down power lines. An airfield north of the Soviet town of Pyandch was repeatedly hit by commandos. Once the *mujahedin* were on Soviet territory, locals would occasionally meet them and join in on operations. Only months after the attacks began, the Soviet Politburo held the meeting in which it was decided to withdraw Soviet forces.

The Soviet edifice was brought down by a tempest whose causes we will never completely understand. But what is beginning to come into focus is the extent to which the Reagan Administration contributed to the decline of the world’s last great empire.

Assume for a moment that the Administration’s initiatives had not been taken—that Solidarity was strangled in its crib for lack of external support; that the *mujahedin* were given only enough weapons to lose more slowly; that the Kremlin was able to reap badly needed funds from world energy markets, and was relieved of its military burdens.

Events in history are rarely inevitable; they are created by human beings. Absent the aggressive policies of the Reagan Administration, a weakened Soviet Union might still be lumbering on the world stage. □



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1994

Dear Rusty,

Happy belated Earth Day! I tried to call you, but I couldn't get through—you know how it is on holidays: everyone's calling long distance.

Earth Day kind of snuck up on me this year. Where does the time go? It feels as if things had just about settled back to normal after last Earth Day, and then bam! here it is again.

We celebrated Earth Day quietly, as a family. I made a few speeches here and there, and took some questions on CNN. Then I went home, and we exchanged gifts, and made an early night of it.

I tried to get Bill involved, but he didn't show much interest, and that disappointed me a bit. It's almost as if his entire commitment to the Earth has diminished. Most of my recent memos—a proposal to compost leftovers from state dinners; replenishing the topsoil on the jogging track—have languished on his desk, unread. I know he has a lot on his mind—Haiti, Rwanda, a sexual-harassment suit—but still, I think we're missing a lot of potentially great publicity. I made a mental note to bring it up with what's-his-name, that guy we hired a few months ago who once worked for Reagan.

In fairness to Bill, perhaps he was preoccupied with the Nixon funeral. Actually, I was a little miffed not to have been asked to go along—I knew him first, after all. I even called Dad to jog his memory for some poignant Nixon anecdotes I could recall during my eulogy.

"You could talk about what he gave you when you graduated from Harvard," Dad suggested.

"Gee," I said, "I can't remember. What was it?"

"A very nice presidential tie pin."

"Oh yeah," I said, when it finally sank in.

"That, and a non-combat short-tour post in Saigon."

"Dad," I said, annoyed.

"Right," he said, chuckling. "I keep forgetting. You were a journalist."

Dad can be difficult sometimes.

Right before he flew off to the funeral, Bill pulled me into the Oval Office for a private chat.

"I just want to say, Al," he said, looking at me intently, "that I hope you and your family are going to participate in Thursday's holiday."

I rolled my eyes. "Bill," I said, "you missed it. Earth Day was last week."

"Who's talking about Earth Day?" he asked. "I mean 'Take Your Daughter to Work Day.' And I want to see all the Gore daughters, okay, Al?"

"Really?" I asked.

"Really," Bill said, as he dashed off to Yorba Linda.

Later, that night, I was talking to Tipper.

"Tip, I'm losing interest. I've held a timber summit, invented the information superhighway, re-invented government, and you know what? I'm a little bored. It's what I was worried about all along. There's not enough to do."

"Hmmmmmm?" Tip said.

"Tipper, are you even listening to me?"

Tipper looked up from her files. That's what she's been up to these past few weeks, Rusty. She just buries herself in research. She calls it "Project '96," whatever that means. And boy, does she have some bulging files. That night, all the folders in front of her were tabbed: "W.J.C.—Sex.Hrssmnt."

"Tipper," I said, "I'm talking to you. I'm trying to have a conversation here."

"I know, Al. I know. It's just that . . . it's just that I can't seem to figure this out. If I check into a hotel room, take off my pants, then get my cronies to bring a girl up to my room . . ." she trailed off, again lost in her files.

"Tipper," I asked, "have you been drinking?"

She looked up, exasperated.

"Oh, Al. Look, I know you're bored, okay? I know you need more to do. I know you'd like to fix Haiti and teach the North Koreans a lesson and end welfare as we know it. I know that. I really do. And don't you see, honey, that all this," she gestured to her files, "all this is what's going to get you there?"

"Tipper, I'm a little confused."

"So am I, Al. I'm trying to figure out why there's no independent corroboration for the girl's story."

"What girl?" I asked.

"Nobody saw them. No witnesses. No bellboy. No desk clerk. No, they're too smart for that."

"Who's they? And what are they too smart for?"

"But the guy eats like a horse. So I'll bet . . ." Her eyes widened, and she smiled a big, toothy smile. "He must have ordered room service. All I have to do is find that room-service waiter!"

"Honey, is this your way of asking me to make you a sandwich?" I asked, completely lost.

"No, Al," she said, throwing her arms around me and giving me a big kiss. "I don't want anything but my big, strong, presidential hunk of burnin' love."

And with that, she put away her files for the night.

Your pal, Al

Which Watch? And Why?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A WHILE AGO, as I perused the wristwatch ads in the *New York Times*, something within me agitated—something that once in a decade, or maybe a lifetime, causes you to wonder about what you do measured comprehensively; like, oh, What percentage of your lifetime do you spend asleep? Or eating? Or—your mind, when roguish, will take you to antic lengths—defecating?

It happened to me at that moment, on the spot. I asked myself, How many hours (weeks? months?) of my life have I already spent looking at watch ads? The question fascinated me in part because my persistent habit hasn't been motivated by any search for the Perfect Watch. This is so because quite by accident, a few years ago, I discovered the perfect watch; so that all the time I spend looking at the displays of watches for sale is entirely platonic. It's just that there is something, for me, simply irresistible in watch ads.

I thought this an entirely personal idiosyncrasy until I devoted a newspaper column to a single Sunday's watch ads. I was astonished by the number of people who wrote to me, or told me to my face, that they suffer from the same addiction. "Suffer" may be the wrong word, because manifestly our fraternity relishes the pastime. Granted, some voyeurs are engaged in the practical pursuit of a watch preferable to the watch they wear, but they would presumably expect that their curiosity would be extinguished upon finding their quarry.

Now, all watch-watchers are given to examining primarily two basic things. The first, of course, is the appearance of the watch; the second, its price. I found that my correspondents share with me the stupefaction provoked by manifest paradoxes—the very expensive watch that appears mundane in appearance, modest in its accomplishments; and, on the other hand, the preposterously inexpensive watch that appears to accomplish as much as models costing one hundred times as much.

The mind wanders . . . What are watch-fanciers looking for? By what criteria are they guided? How much of the whole business is sheer guile? Or flighty, evanescent fashion-chasing? Some watch-buyers, of course, are conned, but that is true in every situation. But how many of us?

Like 9 per cent? Or more like 90 per cent? What is the force of the guiding hand of fashion?

I had in my mail, reacting to my column, a wonderfully querulous letter from William Manchester, the learned, stylish, peppery historian and biographer. He wrote from his fastness at Wesleyan University. I quote from memory: "I wear a Rolex, but have decided to get rid of it because it is Politically Correct. Please let me know what is the watch you are so pleased with. Yours, Bill Manchester, Eurocentrist, Heterosexual." I decided to pursue more meticulously the questions I had posed in my column.

The front section of the *New York Times* on that Sunday carried ads for forty watches, leading off with a Van Cleef & Arpels selection, two elegantly plain watches, the primary visual difference between them being that one had a sweep second hand, the other a miniature second hand. "Gentlemen's Quartz Leather Strap Watches. On left with steel, \$1,500, and on right with 18 kt. gold, \$4,950."

Now that's the kind of thing that causes the gnashing of teeth among us watch-watchers, because of course you ask yourself: How much gold do you consume to make up the \$3,450 difference between Model A, non-gold, and Model B, gold? It is a happy coincidence that you recall that an ounce of gold sells for \$345, more or less; so that, at the

raw gold price, it would take ten ounces of gold to account for that price differential. Come on! I doubt the whole watch weighs more than ten ounces. Those bloodsuckers, huh!

Your eye catches, a few pages ahead, a Mickey Mouse watch. You smile. Walt Disney lives! The eternal benefactor of little children, with their heady little appetites for sprightly, inexpensive, utilitarian adornments! You read on and come upon—stumble over—get floored by—the price. \$5,750. Your eye races to the explanation. Could it be that inside each of these watches there is a relic? Maybe a toenail of the original Mickey Mouse? But all the reader gets is: "A \$5,750 Mickey—for innovators, watch collectors, and friends of Mickey. Completely hand-crafted in Switzerland." Very close friends of Mickey, one has to assume.



Vacheron Constantin

Ah, yes, and we come to: "hand-crafted." You are a grownup reader and so you know that "hand-crafted" usually means, very simply: more expensive. You have idly wondered, over the years, why customers should want "hand-crafted" goods. If it's a painting by van Gogh, you most certainly wish it to be hand-crafted. But what is it, you allow yourself to wonder, that makes a hand-crafted watch preferable to a machine-crafted watch? Isn't it likelier that a hand-crafted watch will err, than that a computer-crafted watch will do so? And if that is the case, aren't you being asked to pay a lot more money for a watch that is likelier to contain an imperfection, probably invisible to the eye of the craftsman, that the computer-laser would detect?

You conclude that you are being manipulated.

And then you focus on an interesting anomaly, which is that the very expensive watches are almost uniformly driven not by a simple quartz battery, but by the motion of the wrist, or even by hand winding. You permit yourself to dwell on the possibility that a watch driven by a battery is less accurate than a watch perpetually animated by the wrist movement of a non-comatose wearer. Might this be so because every day the battery loses just a tiny degree of potency? And before you know it you are, oh, 30 seconds, maybe a couple of minutes, behind true watch time? You make a note to look into that question, because you can't believe that anybody who has the choice of replacing a \$3 battery every couple of years would prefer perpetual wrist motion as the propulsive life-force alternative. If you depend on the latter, you have a watch that goes dead on you if it should happen that you left it at your son's house, on your last visit, and didn't get around to reuniting with it for a week or so; or else you needed to call your son and ask him please to remember to jiggle your watch every day until he takes it to the post office. Yes, something to look into.

You explore then the watch as a status symbol, and ogle on the next page something labeled "IWC International Watch Company, Da Vinci." The object is described in that genteel, exclusivist voice designed to inspire: covetousness. *"This unique timepiece shows signs of genius. Completely handmade in Switzerland, the automatic perpetual calendar moonphase chronograph even shows the year for at least the next 209 years without resetting the watch."* Such a watch as this has got to be exclusive, and sure enough, "Limited Edition. A masterpiece in 18K, \$19,995." I love that "\$995." You are at this point so indignant that you feel the time you have spent on your idle pursuit has been mysteriously justified: you have exposed sin, and how can sins be purged without first being identified as such?

TO ANSWER some of my questions, I made a date with Alfredo Lopez. He is a salesman for Tourneau

Inc., which is the flossiest watch emporium in the country, with six stores in California, Florida, and New York. I have known him for many years, as I go to him to buy watches (gifts), and occasionally to seek horological advice.

He advises me that the watch business is pretty much "Switzerland—and Japan." The way he says it reminds me of the great Spanish matador, Juan Belmonte, early in this century. Asked what was his opinion of the prowess of the young Joselito, a rising star, Belmonte sniffed: *"Primero, Belmonte. Después nadie. Después Joselito."* First Switzerland. Then nobody. Then Japan.

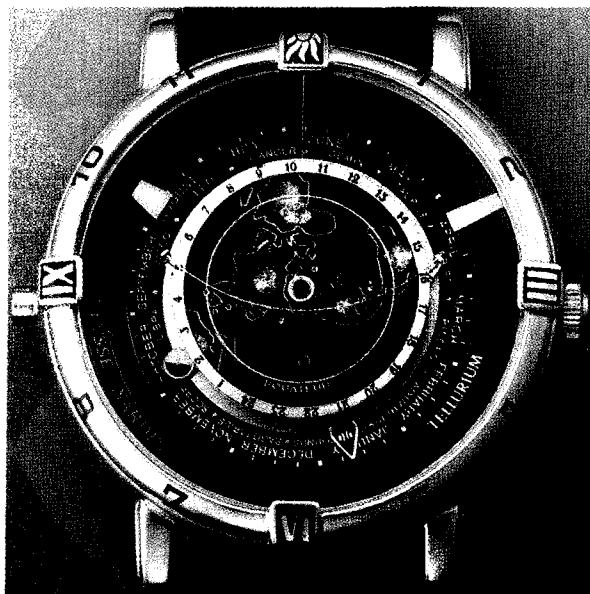
There *was* an era, Mr. Lopez reminded me, when the United States was a live contender. Our Hamilton chronometers were considered the very best, indeed were standard for our and others' navies for a generation and more. But Hamilton was bought by the Swiss; Elgin went out of business. For a while we tried to build tariff walls around our watches. As ever, human ingenuity found ways around this silly impediment. Our tariffs were written to apply if more than one-half of the watch was assembled outside the United States. This law put the Swiss to the bother of shipping their watches to the Virgin Islands and assembling them there. Even now, when Swiss watches reach the United States they are labeled as "unadjusted," thus lowering whatever tariffs still apply.

So I got to the first question, the business of winding versus quartz. Mr. Lopez was mystified by the naïveté of my question. He explained that to buy a very good watch propelled by quartz was on the order of "buying a Porsche with an automatic transmission."

But is there something about self-winding that affects accuracy?

Yes: the self-winding watch is actually *less* accurate than the quartz watch. So what? was the sound that came from Mr. Lopez's shrugged shoulders.

One has the feeling that accuracy isn't any longer a question of price, given that, after all, the Casio quartz watches, which sell for approximately \$50, are phenomenally accurate. When what the historians call the Search for Longitude was undertaken, halfway into the eighteenth century, accuracy meant everything. If aboard your ship you knew exactly what time it was, one-half the navigator's problem was solved. The latitude had been available for centuries, a mere deduction from either the North Star, or the sun when at the highest point in its daily arc. The astronomers had long since established exactly where each navigational star, the planets, the sun, and the moon were "located" (i.e., at what point on the surface of the earth a line between the center of the earth and the star would fall). But unless you knew exactly what time it was, you did not know where in the tables to look for the correlative longitude. Conversely, if you know that at the moment you fetched down an



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angle of 33 degrees, 33 minutes, 33 seconds on Spica on January 1, 1994, Greenwich Mean Time was 02:34:56, then you know your longitude.

In laying down the rules for watch accuracy, the Royal Commission didn't require that the time on the watch face be exact, but it did require that the rate of acceleration, or of deceleration, be constant. If your chronometer gains 3 seconds every day, what do you care? Just add 3 seconds for every day you have been at sea.

The wrist-held "chronometer" sold by Tourneau needs to pass exacting standards to qualify as such. After years of experience with several brands, I give it as a secular observation that if your watch gains or loses less than 1 second every day, you can think of it as a chronometer, and set sail, under your own devices, for Bermuda, confident you will find it.

Mr. Lopez confirms my suspicion, which is that there are watch-buyers who care terribly to know exactly what the time is and will not settle, e.g., for one of those nonchalant non-quartz Rolexes that can lose a minute or more per week. But then as we mount the ladder of expectations, we find ourselves asking the watch to do more for us than merely give us the time. Yes, there are even watches for sale that reckon with the exact length of a year, so that when time comes for Leap Year, they will take you from February 28—to February 29.

I remarked to Mr. Lopez that he was talking about pretty fancy stuff. It was then that I thought to ask him: What is the most expensive watch you have on hand?

Well, he said, that would be the Vacheron Constantin. How much? I asked.

Three hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

My reaction could not have surprised him. One has the feeling that, at Tourneau training schools, there must be somebody who explains to salesmen-on-the-firing-line that potential customers are going to go through such contortions as I went through on being told the price of some watches.

Of course, the first thing I did was to ask to see one. And, of course, it was brought out in a quite beautiful wooden case. I opened it—and found myself staring at a watch that had no gold on it, with a plain leather watchband. The face was fine in appearance, and had the usual three dials, and the moon-marker. It is by no means arresting in appearance. If you happened to notice it on your friend's wrist, you would not bother to ask to examine it. What, I asked, are the special features of the Vacheron Constantin?

Well, it has a "minute repeater." What that is, I learned, is a device that can be triggered by a finger of your other hand. Let's imagine . . . You wake up at night. YOU DO NOT KNOW WHAT TIME IT IS! Must you switch on the light? Look up at the illuminated dial on your clock radio? None of the above. You need only twiddle a tiny nipple on your Vacheron Constantin and you will hear a bell pitched at, say, A. As it sings out, you count: *One* ring, *two* rings, *three* rings . . . Silence.

It is three o'clock.

Then the pitch changes to, say, F, and the bell goes back to work. Again you count. One two three four five six seven eight nine ten eleven twelve thirteen fourteen fifteen sixteen seventeen . . . Silence.

It is seventeen minutes past three.

And you should by now be wide awake, is all I can say; but I wouldn't hurt Mr. Lopez's feelings, not for anything. The other special feature is that the back of the watch is made of a material that permits you to observe the insides.

Mr. Lopez was joined by an older companion. "That watch," he said pointing to it, still in my hands, "will be worth more ten years from now than it is now. The number of people in Switzerland equipped to make a watch like that is maybe seven, and they are dying off." How many of this model, I asked, are they making? Eight, at the rate of about two every year. There is a waiting list of five customers.

What kind of people would buy such a watch, I mean, other, obviously, than very rich people?

Answer: those who want to know that they have on their wrist the best watch made. "Anything more expensive than this either is an antique, or else is full of diamonds," I am told. Men buy the more expensive watches, though women buy the most expensive; but they are really buying diamond bracelets with watches in them.

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"You cannot imagine the feeling the true connoisseur gets when winding his Vacheron Constantin." In fact I can certainly imagine the feeling I'd get; but I dropped it, and said something about how I was sure people who bought Rolls Royces feel that way when they put their foot on the pedal.

I ASKED ABOUT the "Tellurium Johannes Kepler," which I had spotted in Switzerland during the winter. I was given the brochure. The Tellurium is a product of Ulysse Nardin, a company founded in 1846 and rescued from bankruptcy in 1983 by an enterprising Swiss who lives much of the year in Malaysia, which he now calls home. The Tellurium and the Astrolabium are the two major triumphs of Ulysse Nardin's shop in the little valley town of Le Locle, in the Jura.

How to describe the Tellurium? Well, it is ahead of its older sister, the Astrolabium Galileo Galilei, which, in addition to giving you the time of day, gives you also the local time and month; the signs of the zodiac; the height and direction of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars; the time of sunrise and sunset, dawn and dusk; phases of the moon; moonrise and moonset; as well as the eclipse of the sun and the moon. The Tellurium adds to the above the display of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The prices of the two watches are, respectively, sixty and eighty thousand dollars.

The Tellurium and the Astrolabium are both tantalizingly beautiful to look at, but there is one problem. Most of us would need refresher courses every month or so to be reminded how exactly to read the arcana they give you. The brochure on the Tellurium Johannes Kepler reminds you how indebted is the watch industry to the findings of Kepler, whereupon a 43-year-old nightmare revisits the memory. I sat down for the semester exam in Physics 10ab at college and confronted the very first question: "State Kepler's Third Law." People who have no problem stating Kepler's Third Law can readily cope with the Tellurium. That law tells us that the squares of the orbital times of

the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distance from the sun.

SO WHAT does the affluent purchaser want in a watch? The answer, of course, is that it depends—which is why there are so many watch designs. My own Rule Number One is that when it is *not* necessary to do so, don't buy something that is ugly. (Why do so many people have ugly dogs?) If in order to get the exact time, or the moon phase—if you insist on it—the watch simply *has* to be cumbersome, then okay, but only then.

My Rule Number Two is: My watch must be accurate, within 5 seconds per month. Number Three: It must be capable of giving me two readings. If I am sailing, one of them will be set to Greenwich Mean Time, the second to local time. If I am away from my home but on dry land, one of them will be set to New York time. Number Four: It should have a stopwatch function. And—controversial Number Five—it must be readable in digital as well as analogue form.

For a while, Mr. Lopez said—about five years—digital displays took over the watch industry. That was the low point of Swiss watchmaking, because non-Americans didn't take to those liquid-crystal grey numbers that uglify any watch face. Still, for years I put up with my BMW watch, because it gave me both digital and analogue.

It was four years ago that I spotted the watch of my dreams. It is an Omega Seamaster. Its face is black, the hour-points are dots of luminescent green. Stretching in a graceful unobtrusive arc from the eight o'clock point to the four o'clock point is a digital readout; discreet gold against black. You don't notice it unless you are looking for it, but when you are looking for it, it is unambiguously there. Giving you, to the second, the time in New York. Or in Greenwich. Or acting as a chronometer. Or reminding you what day it is, what month.

It is the most beautiful thing in the whole watch-making world, and William Manchester and I own one. The cost of it? Closer to a Timex than to a Vacheron Constantin. □

Nixon as We Knew Him—Finally

CHARLES COLSON

THIS is a book I did not want to read. Not because it's about Richard Nixon. I am a member of what was once a small cadre but is today a growing legion of unabashed Nixon admirers—as became strikingly clear after his death. In the longer perspective he will be regarded as one of the great leaders of this century for his extraordinary foreign-policy achievements. Nor was I reluctant be-

cause I was unimpressed with the author. To the contrary, over the course of several interviews I found him to be a keen journalist. Jonathan Aitken is

Nixon: A Life, by Jonathan Aitken (Regnery, 633 pp., \$28)

also a rising political star as British Minister of State for Defense.

No, it's just because I've read more than one lifetime's worth of Nixon and Watergate books. In the immediate aftermath of the Great Debacle, I read everyone's books—Woodstein, Dean,

Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Kissinger, and a score of lesser lights. All followed the same tedious formula: the author was made to appear the hero, the rest of us Nixon aides bad guys.

I can't do it again, I thought. But this book breaks the formula. It is refreshingly different.

To begin with, *Nixon: A Life* is a page turner, well written and fast paced. It is no small accomplishment to maintain interest when every twist of Nixon's life is so familiar. But Mr. Aitken manages to do it through lively prose and fresh insights.

More important, the book captures the Richard Nixon I knew and the history of this era better than any other book to date. Just as it took a Frenchman, Tocqueville, to explain to us our

Mr. Colson, chairman and founder of the Prison Fellowship, served as special counsel to President Nixon.

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own democratic system, perhaps it has taken an Englishman to explain our democracy's greatest political convulsion.

Mr. Aitken has a distinct advantage over other biographers: an outsider's detachment coupled with an excellent nose for politics. He shows uncanny insight into the motives, manners, and intrigues of the Nixon inner circle. With one or two notable exceptions, he has all of us pegged perfectly; that includes Henry Kissinger. "Kissinger and Nixon," Mr. Aitken writes, "had a tyrannical streak which Nixon displayed toward his enemies and Kissinger toward his staff. They were each capable of towering rages and of deep reflection; of high elation and bleak depression . . . [but] Nixon was the



humbler and kinder member of the partnership." As Mr. Aitken makes very clear, Nixon was also the real genius. Unlike most commentators, Aitken has the relationship straight: "Kissinger had a horse trader's skill in bargaining; Nixon had a horse breeder's gift for conceiving geopolitical winners."

Why didn't Nixon destroy the tapes? That is the question I'm asked most frequently. Mr. Aitken casts new light on the problem. When Alexander Haig, then Chief of Staff, and the late Fred Buzhardt, a wily South Carolina lawyer, learned the taping system would be made public, they decided the tapes had to be destroyed before they were subpoenaed. Leonard Garment, however—a one-time Nixon law partner (whose political judgment Nixon openly disdained) and now assisting in Nixon's defense—learned of the plan and threw a tantrum, threat-

ening to publicly resign if the tapes were destroyed.

As fate would have it, Nixon was in Bethesda Naval Hospital recovering from pneumonia. The debate raged at his bedside with Haig and then-Vice President Agnew urging a bonfire, Garment remaining intransigent. It is obvious that Nixon was confused, because at one point, according to Mr. Aitken, he ordered all the tapes delivered to his hospital room to be stored under the bed, which would have meant raising the bed twenty feet. Ultimately the President made the fateful decision: no bonfire, he told Haig; he might need the tapes to defend himself against his recently fired aides, Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

On such bizarre moments great empires rise and fall. Whether it was because of medication, a fit of paranoia, a desire to keep an accurate history, or to placate Mr. Garment, the decision was made—and the fate of the Nixon Presidency sealed.

Aitken captures "the real Nixon" better than anyone else has done. Nixon was arguably the most formidable intellect to occupy the White House in this century. He was an avid student of philosophy and history. For pleasure he might be found reading the parliamentary debates of Edmund Burke or Plato's *Republic*. He knew Disraeli's life intimately, conscious of the parallels with his own.

No one on the staff was his intellectual equal. One day when I advised a particular course of action on a minor domestic issue, Nixon leaned back in his chair, looked at the ceiling momentarily, and said, "That's not what you advised in a memo you wrote me just about a year ago. Have you changed your mind?" Stunned, I hurried back to my office to scan my files. There it was, written 12 months earlier, exactly as he had remembered.

Contrary to the Herblockian stereotype, Nixon was kind, decent, and honorable. In the course of his painstaking research, Aitken has uncovered several revealing incidents in Nixon's past. For example, when his first business venture went sour and friends lost money, Nixon later looked them up, offering to make good their losses out of his own pocket.

But though his admiration is clear throughout the book, Mr. Aitken does not ignore Nixon's dark side, which I knew well (and, as Aitken writes, en-

Roman Genn

couraged). He offers compelling insights into its genesis, which he pinpoints in Nixon's relationship with John Mitchell. He writes, "Nixon the hater; Nixon the profane; Nixon the furious; Nixon the unscrupulous player of hardball were demons in his nature which had surfaced comparatively rarely during the first 54 years of his life. By contrast there was Nixon the idealistic, the thoughtful, the sensitive, the kind-hearted, and the thoroughly decent son of Hannah [his saintly Quaker mother]. These had been the stronger and more consistent characterizations of his multifaceted personality up to 1967. It was the arrival of John Mitchell as the strong peer relationship in his life that began shifting the balance of these conflicting forces."

Only once does Aitken's obvious fondness for Nixon carry him a bit too far. Aitken buys the thesis of Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin's book *Silent Coup* (1990), which paints John Dean as the Watergate heavy. There's

strong evidence for this—but Aitken adds to it his belief that the infamous 18-and-a-half-minute gap was not inadvertent but was a deliberate act of sabotage by Nixon's enemies. Sorry, but from my perspective that takes more of a stretch than Rosemary Woods's famed stretch that purportedly created the gap.

Apart from that, however, Mr. Aitken maintains his objectivity. He is far from gentle on Nixon in places, but his final judgment is not unlike that expressed to me by many foreign leaders: "It does not seem convincing to this author that what Nixon *did* deserved the supreme penalty of resignation. What he *said* at certain moments in the protected privacy (or so he thought) of his own resentments, rages, and duplicities was much more deserving of rebuke or even punishment. But there are no sentencing guidelines for Presidents who break the rules. To be hanged by his own tapes seemed excessively severe." □

An American Tale

ELLIOTT ABRAMS

SINCE the National Jewish Population Survey of 1990 showed that intermarriage rates had passed the 50 per cent mark, the American Jewish community has been preoccupied with the related issues of intermarriage, assimilation, and survival. Organizations that once focused on defense against anti-Semitism now worry whether Jews are so well integrated into American society that they will slowly disappear.

This is an accurate, if ironic, assessment of the state of anti-Semitism in America today. It is an odd juncture for two books on the subject to appear, yet *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness* by Frederic Cople Jaher and *Anti-Semitism in America* by Leonard Dinnerstein have both just been published. Dinnerstein, who teaches history at the University of Arizona, offers what he calls "the first comprehensive scholarly survey of anti-Semitism in the United States" and covers

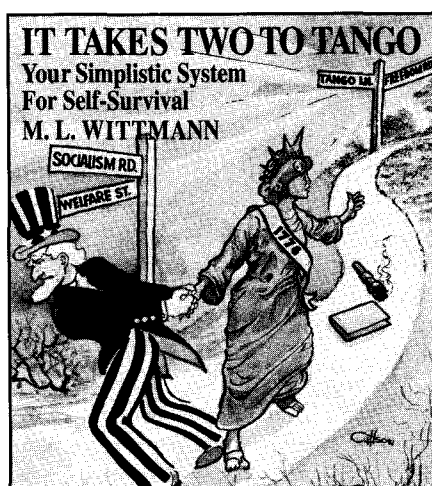
all of American history from the earliest settlements to the present day. Jaher, a professor of history at the University of Illinois, spends the first third of his book explaining the history of anti-Semitism in the ancient

***A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Anti-Semitism in America*, by Frederic Cople Jaher (Harvard, 339 pp., \$29.95)**

***Anti-Semitism in America*, by Leonard Dinnerstein (Oxford, 369 pp., \$25)**

world and in Europe, and then treats American history only up to the Civil War.

While Dinnerstein gives us a comprehensive survey, Jaher writes out of a personal sense of passion and obligation: "The Holocaust and the immense rage it stirs in me have deepened my Jewish identity and inspired me to try to understand how such a catastrophe could occur." "My feelings about the massacre of my fellow Jews," he goes



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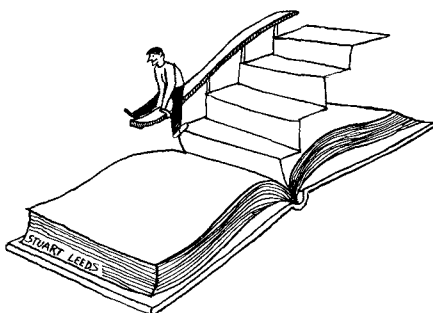
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Mr. Abrams is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. He is working on a book about the American Jewish community.

on, "have not blinded me to the realization that not all gentiles hate Jews, and that even those who dislike Jews would not necessarily torment or liquidate them." Not *necessarily*! With such a motivation, Jaher might have done better to study anti-Semitism in Europe rather than in America, and indeed the facts that emerge in his book—an excellent work of scholarship—do not justify its melodramatic title.

The story of anti-Semitism in America, both authors agree, seems to have a happy ending. From the very beginning, two factors were at war: Christian settlers brought a deep and powerful hatred of Jews with them from Europe, but the rules they established for the new society being built here blunted those beliefs. Here, Jews were citizens from the start; and while they faced anti-Semites they did not face government-sponsored violence. As Mr. Jaher puts it, "because Christianity was uniquely shaped by American religious and secular circumstances, Jews have been better treated here than in any other Western Christian land." He presents a marvelous scene from the Fourth of July celebration in

Philadelphia in 1788, "when Jewish and Christian clergymen marched arm in arm. At the feast following the parade, a kosher table was laid for Jew-



ish citizens. Thus began the gradual admission of Judaism into the civic religion of America."

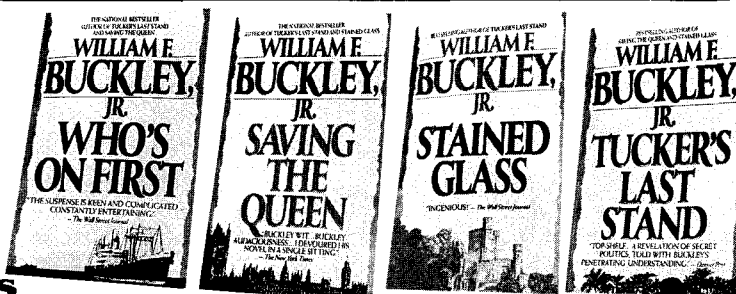
At the same time, Jews were often reviled as the killers of Christ and as merciless Shylocks. Both authors believe that the explanation of anti-Semitism in this country lies in Christianity, which taught it and spread it. As Mr. Jaher says, "Simply put, Christian viewpoints underlie all American anti-Semitism. No matter what other factors or forces may have been at play at any given time, the basis for preju-

dice toward Jews in the United States, and in the colonial era before it, must be Christian teachings." One need not accept the Freudian analyses of Christianity's view of Judaism put forth in *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness* to agree that until very recently, Christian teachings about Jews were (to say the least) not helpful in the drive against anti-Semitism. This attitude found expression not only in sermons, but in such cultural artifacts as the famous nineteenth-century McGuffey's *Readers*, which, for example, characterized the Jews of Roman times as living in "the most licentious fanaticism" and expressed continuing contempt for Jews and their religion.

Jews were unable to vote in most states under their original constitutions, and New Hampshire kept its voting restrictions until 1877. In several states, Jews could not hold office or serve as lawyers. American history shows several serious outbreaks of anti-Semitism, such as General Grant's famous 1862 order expelling all Jews from the area of his command, or the 1913 Leo Frank case, in which a Jew was lynched in Georgia for a murder he did not commit.

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The basic pattern is clear, and emerges in both books: for much of American history, Judaism has been tolerated—but with contempt. Jews were socially acceptable during the Colonial and early Federal periods. Anti-Semitism began to increase in the early 1800s, and grew partly because European immigrants pouring into the country brought hatred of Jews with them. It spread even more widely after the Civil War and as the Jewish population increased. A 1936 editorial that Mr. Dinnerstein quotes from the liberal Protestant establishment journal *The Christian Century* is typical: Jews “must be brought to repentance—with all tenderness, in view of their age-long affliction, but with austere realism, in view of their sinful share of their own tragedy.” Prejudice turned into outright acts of anti-Semitism in periods of stress such as war or depression. Indeed, anti-Semitism in America peaked during the Second World War.

Since then it has been greatly reduced. “Within two decades of the end of World War II near revolutionary change occurred in public policies and attitudes, toward Jews in the United States,” Mr. Dinnerstein concludes. Opinion polling demonstrates that anti-Semitic stereotypes are weaker than ever, social acceptance of Jews very high, and discriminatory practices rare enough to cause surprise and outrage when exposed.

“In human terms,” Dinnerstein writes, “the best indication of the decline of American anti-Semitism is the number of marriages that have occurred between Jews and Gentiles.” And that fact is now providing Jewish communal agencies with a new crisis, the high intermarriage rate, in place of the old problem of discrimination against Jews.

Yet if anti-Semitism has fallen sharply among most Americans, there is one exception, and both Dinnerstein and Jaher point it out: the black community. Here it seems to be on the rise, and Dinnerstein notes that while whites shy away from anti-Semitic expressions today, this is not true for blacks. “African Americans,” he writes, “suffer no such constraints. Their anti-Semitic verbiage seems to make them more, rather than less, popular among their peers.” As if to prove the point, Howard University postponed a lecture by the Pulitzer

Prize-winning Yale historian David Brion Davis, a Jewish convert, this April. Howard administrators feared he would be subjected to heckling and harassment. One has to reach back to Germany in the early 1930s to find such an academic atmosphere of anti-Semitism in the West.

Jaher and Dinnerstein both offer the same explanation of black anti-Semitism, which the latter covers extensively in a separate chapter. Like all American anti-Semitism it is, in their view, the product of Christianity, and emerges more strongly among blacks because they are more likely than whites to be well churchied. Dinnerstein carefully reminds us that black anti-Semitism is not a novel phenomenon, or, to be more precise, demonstrates that the notion that blacks have for much of this century felt particularly warmly toward Jews is an illusion. Some rather nasty quotes from W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington make the point sharply: in his famous work *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois wrote that Jews in the Middle Ages “used deception and flattery . . . cajoling and lying,” actions that left their mark “on their character for centuries,” while blacks in the American South now faced (when he wrote in 1903) “shrewd and unscrupulous Jews.” Both men expressed praise of Jews at some point in their lives, but both reached maturity and indeed fame filled with prejudice against Jews.

The American Jewish community dedicated enormous effort to supporting the civil-rights movement, motivated both by the enlightened self-interest of one minority in helping another fight bigotry, and by a desire to see the United States meet its ideals and provide justice to all its citizens. There was a moment of wonderful, close cooperation, but it was with leaders such as Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins rather than with the American black population as a whole. By the late 1960s tension had already begun rising.

Still, today's outbreak of anti-Semitism among blacks is something new. It is evident not only in polling data that show blacks twice as likely to be anti-Semitic as whites, but also in the popularity on black campuses of exceptionally vicious peddlers of hate. To say that all of this merely reflects that old-time religion, American Prot-

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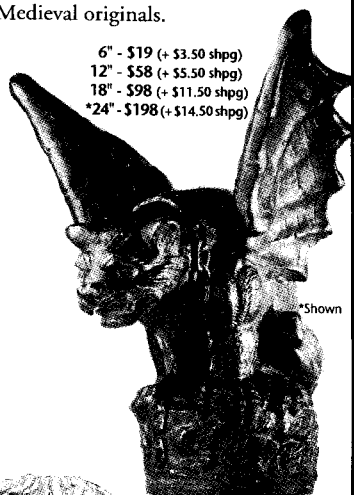
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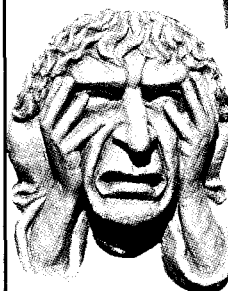
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estantism—as do both Jaher and Dinnerstein—will not wash. Both authors, curiously, seem to suspend the desire for deeper analysis on this point. Is it not odd that the anti-Semitic orators in question are self-described Muslims, competitors rather than partners of the black churches? Is there not an obvious link here to the anti-Semitism that has so long existed in the Arab world, and was spread during the Cold War by the Soviet Union and its allies? It is more logical to call today's virulent strain of black anti-Semitism a product of the Left and of Islam, than of the black churches?

This aside, both Mr. Dinnerstein and Mr. Jaher offer well-researched, well-written accounts. Mr. Dinnerstein's may be the more useful, as it covers the entirety of American history. Mr. Jaher's general complaint against Christianity is not exactly apocryphal here in the New World, where the history of Christian anti-Semitism

finally wound down. Still, his account of the origins of modern anti-Semitism, and his comparisons of the condition of Jews in Europe and America in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, show careful study and are a reminder of the great gap between the experience of Jews in the Old World and in the New.

In Genesis, God tells Abraham that He will bless those who bless the Jews and curse those who curse them. Looking at the fate of those who have oppressed Jews since those ancient days, and the happy history and situation of America, one is led back to those words of the Bible.

Truly the Jews found here, if not an Eden, then a warmer welcome than they received in any other land at any other time. These two books, while they focus on the dark side of the American Jewish experience, are nevertheless reminders of the uniquely happy history of Jews in this country. □

Tennis, Anyone?

DIGBY ANDERSON

I WAS recently reading a manuscript for publication about what we in England now refer to as health fascists. These are the chaps who are forever warning that death awaits anyone who enjoys a glass of wine, a cigar, pâté de foie gras or sweets, who likes sitting down or presumes to lie out in God's sunshine. And not just warning either. They are political activists who want more government regulation to make us behave healthily and correctly.

The author of the manuscript gave a list of the pleasures the health fascists hate, a list very similar to that above, with one difference. He added sex. Now here he is absolutely wrong. The health fascists are *for* sex. They would make it compulsory if they could. They want as much of it as possible, in as many ways as possible, however filthy and perverted, with as many partners as possible, inhibited by as few morals as possible, all provided, of course, that the sex athletes never remove their condoms.

So here is a puzzle. If they are against pleasure, these so-called New Puritans, why are they for sex? There

are many answers, not least that they are against traditional values and use sex as a way to destroy them. But the key to the puzzle is that, when you look closely at how they write about sex, it is not a pleasure at all they are advocating but a sport. What is more,

***Heterosexuality*, by William H. Masters, MD, Virginia E. Johnson, and Robert C. Kolodny, MD, (HarperCollins, 595 pp., \$27.50)**

a "healthy" sport, and one to be mastered, achieved, something for which you get into training.

Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny—sorry, Masters, MD, Johnson, and Kolodny, MD, for this is *that* sort of book—are not, to my knowledge, health fascists or against pleasure; but they too make sex a sport, to be worked at. By the way, it might be easier if we refer to them here more briefly, and with apologies to Virginia Johnson, as the Threesome, MD. The

Mr. Anderson, an NR contributing editor, is the editor of The Loss of Virtue (National Review Books).

Threesome, MD, are deeply and remorselessly serious about sex. Their treatment makes it hard, forbidding work. What you won't find in this book is a touch of humor, irony, any joy in elegant amateurism, or the faintest awareness of how ridiculous sex and talk about sex often is.

It is not that they focus exclusively on "the mechanics." They explicitly and intentionally focus on the emotions, or at least the sensations. But they treat them in a bizarrely mechanical way. They take themselves very seriously—no, earnestly—and clearly, genuinely believe that what they and others like them are up to is, to use their word, a profession.

Professions are characterized by specialized knowledge and a value base. What, for instance, are the Threesome's values about abortion, infidelity, or perversion? They refuse to discuss any ethical issues about abortion and simply discuss its legal history, techniques, and whether it does serious harm subsequently to the mother. They think not. Affairs get much the same treatment. They produce "a typology" of affairs. When talking of pedophiles, sadists, and other perverts, they object to the "moralistic" tone of the word "perversion," which was used "in the past," and is still used "in certain quarters" that regard anal sex as aberrant or repugnant. The Threesome, MD, prefer to call these things "paraphilias" since it is more "neutral-sounding."

This remorseless amorality is, of course, a value system itself and one dependent on highly questionable beliefs associated with therapy and psychoanalysis. I noticed only one highly charged prohibition in the six hundred pages. It appears on page 145: "Cautionary Note: it is DANGEROUS to try to use a vacuum cleaner on your penis. Serious injuries have been reported from this activity."

Which raises the question: just whom is *Heterosexuality* for? The biological details and thousands of words suggest quite a literate, brainy type, types not known, in my admittedly limited acquaintance, for putting Hoovers down their trousers. The reader of *Heterosexuality*, apart from the vacuuming tendency, must be someone who likes weighty chapters citing "research" on sensuality, low sexual desire, potency, and sex in old age. He will enjoy figures such as "the

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vector model of sexual desire" with lots of arrows, quadrants, negative and positive axes, and acknowledgments. He will be shown pictures showing the application of the daunting "penile squeeze" and the milder "basilar squeeze." These are to be used in what is appropriately called "training." The Threesome are very keen on training. Indeed the flyleaf announces that "here for the first time ever is Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny's practical program of exercises for all seeking to enhance their responsivity." Now there's a word, "exercises."

And what a program. It starts with non-genital touching, commencing with the feet or neck, to learn sensations—for instance how much smoother the skin on the neck is than

the skin on the feet. The exercise has a Part A and B and continues for 15 minutes, after which you "graduate" to other stages, pages and pages of them. And the text is broken up with other matters: quizzes to administer to yourself to learn whether you have "impaired sexual desire," and statements, such as "I generally feel unattractive and undesirable," to rate on scales of agreement. There are case studies—chaps complaining that the "sizzle" has gone out of their sex lives—and jaunty little aphorisms: "different strokes for different folks," and "women express, men repress."

Now there's a word that I like: oh for a return to repression! After reading the Threesome's tome, it would be such a—dare I say, relief? □

lessness of Michael, whom Andy Garcia plays solidly and thoughtfully. Whatever he does turns out wrong because of Alice's defensiveness, which perceives concern as lack of trust, and discretion as indifference. It is a no-win situation, accurately portrayed in dialogue and action. You do feel the genuine love of these spouses for each other, but also their exasperation, whether with their partners or themselves. And, graphically, we get the effect of this on the little girls. Finally, Alice goes to a rehab clinic, her agony there sparingly but sufficiently shown, not least in the chain smoking it drives her to—a case, perhaps, of the cure being not much better than the sickness.

When she returns home, having gained a Pyrrhic victory over her affliction, her situation is not helped by having to fight tooth and nail against recidivism. Michael is now truly walking on eggshells. Forgive my use of clichés here, but this marital predicament is a bit of a cliché, too, yet, honestly examined, still yields idiosyncratic and harrowing insights. Alice's unease, and his own having to go into complementary group therapy, combined with cutbacks at the airline that make his job precarious, eventually induce Michael to move to Denver, with Alice concurring. What comes of this separation you must find out for yourselves.

There are many fine touches here, such as Alice's forming a two-person support group with a young man who was a fellow patient at the clinic, which nevertheless arouses Michael's jealous suspicions. Or the way the need to protect the children as much as possible takes its toll on the parents' attempts to work out their own problems. Although there are some possibly too adorable scenes early on, the later ones—particularly the very mature and moving ending—deserve high praise. Perhaps the nicest thing is the film's ability to convey broader implications without hitting us over the head with them.

It should be added that Mr. Garcia's looks—half sensual, half ascetic—work very well, and that both little girls can truly act, Tina Majorino, the elder, remarkably so. Ellen Burstyn and others in the supporting cast are fine, and Meg Ryan, I repeat, should be declared a national treasure. Nor should the splendid contributions of

FILM

A Man and a Woman and a Bottle

JOHN SIMON

IS THERE anything rarer than an adult film coming out of America? A truly adult one, by, for, and about adults? There is one such now, and, surprisingly, it was co-written by the same Ronald Bass who has among his credits the dime-novelish *The Joy Luck Club*, and the trashy and unbelievable *Sleeping with the Enemy*. His co-author, *Saturday Night Live*'s Al Franken, is apparently an able comedian (TV is not my beat), but the new film, *When a Man Loves a Woman*, is not a comedy, though it contains comic bits.

The very pre-title sequence, filmed in my favorite San Francisco hangout, the Buena Vista Café, is pretty damned funny, as two separate guys try to pick up Meg Ryan, who plays Alice Green; one unsuccessfully, the other (Andy Garcia) successfully, though with the weirdest technique in the world. And from there on in, the film simply flows, even though the credits of its Mexican director, Louis Mandoki (*Born Yesterday*, *White Palace*, and even the better *Gaby—A True Story*), are not all that impressive. It just goes to show that you never know what to expect in the mad, mad, mad world of movies.

Alice is a school counselor, though

from what we see of that, she could as well be working in an ad agency; Michael, her husband, is a commercial pilot. They live in a nice San Francisco house (most of the film was shot in L.A.!) and have two daughters: Jess, circa eight, and Casey, circa six. They are cute, but not preternaturally so, and only the elder—Alice's child from a previous marriage—is especially pretty. They behave throughout with commendable realism, but the film, in any case, is about Alice, who is an alcoholic.

The two best things about Alice are that the cause of her alcoholism, though addressed, is not glibly explained, and that she is played by Meg Ryan. Miss Ryan, who has been getting better from film to film, was pretty irresistible in *Sleepless in Seattle*, but is even more enchanting here. She plays a woman who is both an absolute delight and, albeit a little less often, a perfect nightmare. She gets both across in the most natural way, and, without stinting on the horror of alcoholism, never loses our sympathy. To be sure, there is something very American here: a drunken mother slapping her innocent eight-year-old—hard, but only once—might not seem quite so cataclysmic an event in other parts of the world.

The film concentrates on the help-

Mr. Simon is NR's film critic.

Lajos Koltai, the Hungarian cinematographer, and Zbigniew Preisner, the Polish composer, be overlooked. *When a Man Loves a Woman* may not be for the ages, but it looks, sounds, and feels right. Nowadays—and perhaps anytime—that is quite a lot.

■ Critical praise and public acclaim are being lavished on *Naked in New York*, a first feature by young Dan Algrant, and at least some of the clamor is justified. Mr. Algrant started making short films at Harvard, and continued to do so at the Columbia Graduate School of Film. *Naked in New York* is clearly autobiographical, though the Cambridge sequences have an unfortunate New York look about them. We get the standard autobiographical fare: my first big love affair, and how and why it ended, and how I became a filmmaker—only here, in the interest of some fictional freedom, Jake, the hero, is a playwright.

There is, however, something slightly fishy here. The screenplay was co-written with one John Warren, about whom the press kit's lips are sealed. I would like to know more about Mr. Warren's input: of what nature and how substantial was it? In the eagerness (the producers'? Mr. Algrant's?) to make our young cineast a total *auteur*, John Warren may have been given the shaft. Indeed, why couldn't Mr. Algrant handle this very personal story all by himself? Is he perhaps not such an all-round talent?

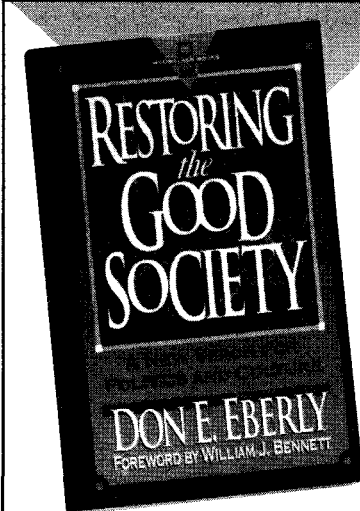
The story could not be more basic. The precocious only child of a broken home, who, after the Christian father leaves, is brought up by his ditsy Jewish mother, our hero ends up at Harvard, where he is already a budding playwright. After some sexual experimentation, he hits upon Joanne, a fellow student. They become lovers and, following graduation, set up house-keeping in Cambridge. Jake works on his plays, Joanne is a budding photographer. Jake's college chum, Chris, goes to New York, and struggles to become an actor. He urges Jake to join him there, where the action for playwrights, too, seems to be. But Jake is too happy with Joanne, where he is. Then she gets a job at a smart art gallery, working for the very fancy and British Elliot Price, and Jake leaves for a spell in New York, where a producer, Carl Fisher, takes an interest in his work. At a party, Chris makes

a pass at Jake; a homosexual, he has had a crush on him all along. Jake gently rebuffs him. He does not rebuff Dana Coles, the somewhat overripe soap-opera diva, who is the peg on which Carl is able to hang a production of Jake's play. Having seduced Jake, Dana goes after bigger fish. Jake hotfoots it back to Cambridge, only to discover that, for Joanne, Price is right. Jake breaks up with Joanne, and, driving back to New York, relives his life in flashback—that is the film we see. Jake is 26, and has come of age. We are a lot older, and have seen this movie before. Many times.

Still, there is no denying Mr. Algrant's flair. He has plainly been influenced by Woody Allen and, more distantly, the New Wave. He tells his story in quick, nervous, skit-like scenes. He uses the camera fluidly and flexibly. He has gags that are more than verbal, genuinely cinematic. Unlike, say, the insufferable Coen brothers (whose latest, *The Hudsucker Proxy*, is yet another elephantine, self-indulgent mess), he does not make a film-school film: he wears his influences lightly, rather than slavishly or ostentatiously. He shows touches of truly irreverent imagination, no matter if some don't come off. His celebrities in cameo roles are, for a change, mostly literary rather than cinematic ones. His humor is iconoclastic and un-self-serving. Plus he doesn't seem to take himself too seriously, and directs with a light enough touch to allow the actors freedom to bring something of their own to the endeavor.

But there are also less felicitous aspects. The film abounds in liberal clichés. The Jewish mother, no matter how spacey, is clearly a better person than the all too proper WASP father. Mother's best friend is a wise black woman. Jake's best teacher at Harvard is a wise black man. His best male friend is a sensitive homosexual. And so on. All of this is possible, but piled up in a heap it gives off too much of an odor of sanctity.

The casting is first-rate, down to the tiniest parts. Eric Stoltz is letter perfect as Jake—a bright, decent, slightly ridiculous fellow. Mary-Louise Parker is the epitome of the delicious, unconventional, slightly zany young woman with whom life is fun, though that fun may not be life. Ralph Macchio, though still looking too young, is a fine Chris. Tony Curtis has just the right



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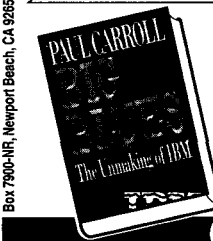
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mixture of joviality and sleaziness as Carl. Jill Clayburgh scores as silly Mom. Timothy Dalton makes Elliot properly (or improperly) suave and lascivious, and Lynne Thigpen, Kathleen Turner, and Roscoe Lee Browne

are lovely as Mom's best friend, soap-opera seductress, and sage drama teacher, respectively. Best of all, Whoopi Goldberg has only the tiniest of parts, which is about as much Whoopi as I can take. □

CULTURE WARS

How to Talk about Art

MARTHA BAYLES

CONSERVATIVES aren't the only ones bewitched, bothered, and bewildered by the current state of art and culture. Take NEA Chairman Jane Alexander. An intelligent actress, she is smoother than John Frohnmayer, whose main contribution to culture was a new form of performance art: stepping on your own tongue. But when a performance artist appearing in Minneapolis's NEA-funded Walker Art Center menaced his audience with towels damp with blood that was possibly HIV-positive, Miss Alexander lacked the savvy—or the backbone—to distinguish between such antics and genuine art.

Still, conservatives rely too much on good old American philistinism, meaning an attitude of smug indifference toward anything that smacks of refined taste. This attitude may be proof against pretentiousness and snobbishness, but it isn't going to help fight the culture war. Art is not a sport with clear rules; it's a game in which Team A is playing baseball, Team B is divided between rugby and lacrosse, the umpire is enforcing the rules of ladies' tennis, and the scorekeeper is philosophically opposed to competition.

In sum, we have not one but many artistic standards, each derived from a different phase in the history of Western art. Conservatives don't need to know this whole history to avoid sounding like philistines. But they do need to understand that there are different ideas about art, just as there are different ideas about politics and economics.

Broadly speaking, these ideas are three. First is the *didactic*, in which art is seen as having a direct, unmedi-

ated effect on the behavior of the audience. In this view, art must be censored, because any sympathetic depiction of evil will foster evil in the body politic. This didactic idea has a noble pedigree, going back to Plato's injunction that the poet must sing only the truth of the philosopher-king. But it also has a shameful history, as tyrants past and present have forced art into ugly official molds intended to serve philosophical, religious, and (more recently) political-ideological truths.

Second is the *latitudinarian* idea, in which art is allowed to depict evil, even sympathetically, as part of a larger whole. This idea, which harks back to Aristotle, gives art more liberty, but that liberty was never total. Most Western artists, including the romanticists, have believed that art's ultimate purpose is to serve truth and virtue. They have disagreed about technique, about how audiences are affected, about what constitutes truth and virtue. But in all that time, and indeed in all the other civilizations of the world, art was never seen as a substitute for truth.

Only in the West, and only in the last century, has this third, *radical* idea appeared. Derived from late romanticism and modernism, it gives art the power to generate its own truth and virtue, regardless of the forms these have taken throughout human history. To some extent, this is the legacy of Nietzsche. But Nietzsche clung to the romantic distinction between the genius who generates new truths out of a deep connection with nature, and the merely immoral type who uses "genius" as a cloak for a lack of personal and artistic discipline. Today, this distinction is forgotten. Would-be geniuses from William S. Burroughs to Kurt Cobain deny any responsibility for their impact on others. And the radical idea is such a cliché, middle-

brow critics such as Richard Corliss of *Time* sigh wearily when instructing us rubes that art has only two functions: to "shock," or to "ratify the prejudices of the generation in power."

Regrettably, most conservatives think the answer to radicalism is didacticism. Take the famous Helms amendment of 1989, which prohibited the use of NEA funds for art that "denigrates the objects or beliefs of the adherents of a particular religion or non-religion [emphasis added]." To use this heavy bludgeon is to rule out religious art—on the grounds that it might offend the non-religious.

Of course, it is not censorship to deny government funding to charlatans trading in obscenity and shock. But some conservatives would take censoriousness further, into a realm where big government starts looking like Big Brother. At its most sophisticated, this argument cites Plato and Rousseau to the effect that art corrupts civic virtue. This line of reasoning can be very cogent. But remember, it is not a criticism of *bad* art, but of *all* art. In his *Letter to d'Alembert*, Rousseau cites the dangers of *good* theater—including, presumably, his favorite playwright, Molière.

Less didactic are the neoconservatives, an intellectual bunch who read *The New Criterion* and worry about defending high culture against a rising tide of barbarism. Yet their mistake is to apply excessively rigorous standards to American culture as a whole. They forget T. S. Eliot's famous admonition that *culture* has different meanings when applied to an individual, a group, or an entire society.

The *New Criterion* crowd also takes a monolithic view of culture, in which the word "popular" is used as the opposite of "high," "serious," and "good." They don't seem to realize that this usage is both illogical and ahistorical. Many great works of art have been popular; many low, unserious, bad works have been unpopular. Yet conservatives of an intellectual bent persist in drawing a sharp, uncrossable line between "popular culture" and genuine art. Why is that?

The first reason is distrust of the electronic media, based on the McLuhanite view of film, radio, and TV (not to mention all the new gizmos buzzing down the information superhighway) as inherently irrational, and bound to stunt cognitive and moral develop-

Miss Bayles's book, Hole in Our Soul: The Loss of Beauty and Meaning in American Popular Music, has just been released by Free Press.

ment. To refute this view, we need only consider the countless educated, literate people who are also conversant with the electronic media. Given the proper balance, the human mind can handle both the new and the old media, just as it can handle more than one language. The challenge, as any parent can tell you, is finding that balance.

Second, the neoconservative elders inherit from their socialist youth the belief that objects bought and sold as commodities cannot possibly be art. They have a point; the profit motive has done much harm to art and culture. But it has also done much good. If, for example, we admit that jazz and cinema are the only truly original American art forms, then we must also admit that neither would have developed as dynamically as it did without the incentives, exposure, and competition provided by the market.

But this is not to side with the postmodernist brandishing of popular culture as a weapon against the very idea of artistic standards. For every neoconservative highbrow who denies that art can exist in the schlock-swollen flood of popular culture, there is a postmodernist leveler who insists that every morsel of schlock is art. One side talks about the "gutter," the other about the "street." But both insist that you can't talk about popular culture without abandoning artistic standards. In that sense, they're in cahoots.

What are conservatives to do? Again, it is futile and evasive to harp on legal censorship. If that is our only hope, then we're in trouble, because legal censorship of popular culture is both a practical and a constitutional impossibility. As the experience of the former Eastern bloc attests, even Big Brother government cannot control the flow of the electronic media. In this country, the great bulk of offensive material does not fall under the narrow purview of obscenity law as derived from the 1973 Supreme Court decision *Miller v. California*. There will always be experts willing to defend the "serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value" of exhibitionist performance art. And there will always be popular figures such as Madonna, who know how to dehumanize sex even before they take off their clothes. And, as both fundamentalists and feminists have learned the hard

way, the First Amendment stands solidly in the way of any attempt to expand the scope of the law.

I argue, therefore, that our only hope of reversing the current malignant mood is the market. But I am no libertarian, expecting the market to do magic tricks by itself. It can only respond to a shift in public taste, brought about by the usual combination of things we cannot control and things we can. Optimistically, I count among the latter the old-fashioned tools of persuasion, debate, and education.

Conservatives need a better grasp of the intellectual history of art, so they can criticize destructive radicalism from a latitudinarian, rather than a didactic, perspective. Neoconservatives need to understand more about popular culture, so they can pass judgments relevant to the society as a whole. And all of us need to change our tune about cultural matters. Instead of saying, "I don't know much about art, but I know what I don't like," we need to follow the cultural historian Jacques Barzun, who recommends learning how to say: "It is because I understand this work of art that I dislike it." □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

What Went Right in the 1980s, by Richard B. McKenzie (Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, 397 pp., \$21.95)

IF DEBUNKING the economic myths surrounding the Reagan years were an industry, Richard McKenzie would be CEO of its largest corporation. Here the University of California economist systematically refutes the idea that the U.S. faces decline following a decade of Republican-inspired debt, greed, and excess. Reich, Kuttner, Galbraith, Phillips, and other liberal polemicists are quoted at length, with the author's rebuttal a model of dispassionate scientific method. On income inequality, for example, Mr. McKenzie takes 65 pages to explain the roles of age, education, family structure, taxes, productivity, price indexes, spending patterns, and welfare benefits on the widening gap. (The statistical charts in this book are themselves worth the

(Continues on page 68)

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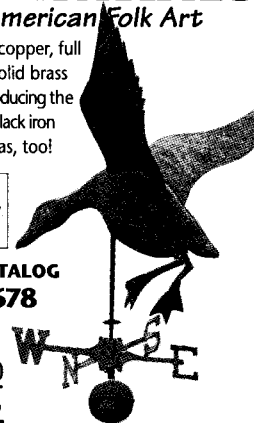
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KUDLOW (Continued from page 27)

brake will prevent the economy from supplying necessary goods.

Along with advance-warning inflation signals from gold and commodity price increases and the recent auto price hikes, the number of purchasing managers reporting higher prices has moved to 34 per cent, the highest in three years. A recent *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll found that 50 per cent of respondents expect higher inflation, suggesting that Main Street also sees the problem. The producer price index jumped at a 3.9 per cent annual rate in the first quarter, while the crude materials component (excluding food and energy) is now 10.9 per cent ahead of its year-ago level.

If the Fed is to make money properly scarce, interest rates will have to rise much more in the next year than either Main Street or Wall Street expects. The Fed has not yet begun to tighten; it is merely following an 11 per cent first-quarter rise of bank loans to businesses. As a rule of thumb, the growth of nominal GDP (total spending in the economy) should be roughly in line with 3-month Treasury bills if inflation is to be held in check. Currently, nominal GDP growth is trending toward 7 per cent, so the prevailing 4 per cent Treasury-bill rate may have to rise by as much as 300 basis points over the remainder of 1994 and into 1995. Failing this, inflation could rise to 5 or 6 per cent.

What most people seem not to understand is that a significant interest-rate rise will not affect the economy for 12 to 18 months. While inflation will pick up this year, its full impact will not be felt until 1995-96. Therefore, if we assume that the economic boom and the interest-rate rise may not peak until the first half of 1995, then the damage may not be fully felt until 1996, when the economy slumps badly while inflationary pressures linger on. In terms of presidential economics, Clinton is peaking too soon. Unlike President Reagan, whose economic growth policies peaked in 1984 without inflation, the Clinton team has completely mistimed the cycle, much as the Carter team did. Republicans will be on the defensive this fall, but a strong dose of recession and inflation in 1996 may yet save the GOP from itself. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF (Continued from page 65)

sticker price.) As the title suggests, some things *did* go wrong. Federal spending continued to rise as a percentage of GDP, and although incomes expanded for rich as well as poor, the rise was slow by historical standards. But other signs of malaise such as the trade deficit and corporate layoffs in reality portend great economic strength. The 1980s were good, but not great. Indeed, the author says that the 1990s could easily surpass the economic achievements of the Reagan years, what with the end of the Cold War, and Russia, Eastern Europe, and China moving toward free markets. The major threat, according to Mr. McKenzie, is that "government policymakers and the voters they represent will buy into claims that the 1980s were some of the toughest of times."

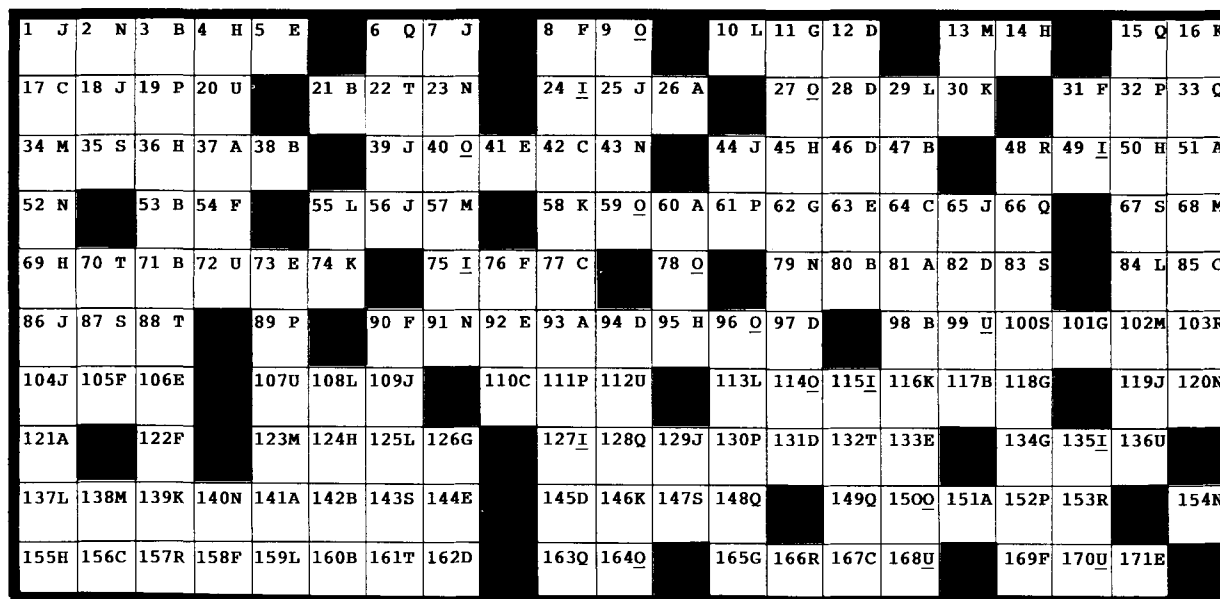
—ED RUBENSTEIN

Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty, by James Bovard (St. Martin's, 408 pp., \$24.95)

THERE may be no more cogent critic of today's welfare state than journalist James Bovard, who has written widely on a variety of topics, including bungling in agriculture and trade. But *Lost Rights* is his finest work yet. Mr. Bovard forthrightly challenges "the new leviathan" under which, he argues, "Americans' liberty is perishing." He is unsparing in his criticism: "Federal, state, and local governments are confiscating citizens' property, trampling their rights, and decimating their opportunities more than ever before." What makes *Lost Rights* particularly powerful is its comprehensiveness. Mr. Bovard denounces government seizure of property and censorship of speech, he condemns jackboot enforcement tactics involving both drugs and guns. He blasts the public education monopoly, the "equal-opportunity police," pervasive special-interest subsidies, and confiscatory taxes. He documents mind-numbing abuse after abuse, showing how "the expansion of government power is increasingly like the invasion of a foreign army." Is there hope? Only, writes Mr. Bovard, if the American public develops "a new faith in individual liberty."

—DOUG BANDOW

TRANS-O-GRAM/ Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. Tussaud's creation (2 words) | 26 37 151 141 93 121 51 81 60 | K. Sweep's concern | 58 146 16 139 74 116 30 |
| B. Traditional street surface | 98 21 142 53 117 47 71 160 80 38 | L. Any conservative, to the press | 137 113 125 108 55 10 159 29 84 |
| C. Carry more importance, or portliness | 167 85 77 110 42 64 17 156 | M. One kind of dam | 57 102 34 13 123 138 68 |
| D. Like a stage villain | 97 28 94 145 131 46 162 82 12 | N. Bronson flick | 52 140 120 23 91 79 154 43 2 |
| E. Too happy? | 73 41 133 144 171 92 106 5 63 | O. Not the real McCoy | 150 27 78 164 59 114 40 9 96 |
| F. Without artifice | 8 122 90 76 158 31 169 105 54 | P. Indonesian volcano site | 130 111 32 61 152 19 89 |
| G. Like the kooky drummer? | 62 165 118 134 126 11 101 | Q. Spatial companion to eternal | 163 149 15 128 66 6 148 33 |
| H. City in Washington, or Canada | 50 95 155 36 14 124 69 45 4 | R. Seductress | 48 103 166 157 153 |
| I. What highwaymen did | 49 127 75 135 115 24 | S. Packwood's problem | 83 67 147 100 35 143 87 |
| J. Sydney is its capital | 104 109 44 7 25 18 1 56 119 65 | T. Imperial decree | 22 132 70 88 161 |
| | 39 86 129 | U. Make resentful | 99 168 170 72 107 136 20 112 |

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. MARIANNE MEANS: *The Polls*: "More than any other President, Bill Clinton is a creature of the public-opinion polls. Forget that stuff about dying by the sword. Nowadays the mood of the White House hangs on the results of the latest public-opinion survey."

Love-Fest On the Right

NEW YORK, MAY 3

Last fall, to celebrate an anniversary of FDR, the faithful gathered in Casablanca. And then, to celebrate an anniversary of JFK, they gathered in Florence. The funeral of Richard Nixon brought together some old Cold Warriors and RN janissaries. There hasn't been quite such a spectacle focusing on Ronald Reagan, but anyone in Phoenix on May 1 could have looked in on a great love-fest, featuring Barry Goldwater and Margaret Thatcher.

The occasion was the Goldwater Institute's presentation of its annual award to Lady Thatcher. A high moment of the affair was a documentary, skillfully done, giving the audience shots of Barry when he was six, sixteen, and sixty, and Margaret when she was six, sixteen, and fifty. Barry Goldwater has baffled some of his legions by occasional pronouncements apparently at odds with the conservative philosophy of which he is the prime living proponent in the political world. The master of ceremonies dismissed this difficulty by recalling that Senator Goldwater "was born with an inclination to keep his listeners on their toes. This is not to suggest," he went on, "that in his past he has provoked everything counterretaliatory that has been said about him. Back then, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. observed judiciously, 'We see dangerous signs of Hitlerism in the Goldwater campaign.' American Jewish Congress President Joachim Prinz warned, 'A Jewish vote for Goldwater is a vote for Jewish suicide.' And George Meany of the AFL-CIO saw, in Senator Goldwater's nomination, power falling into 'the hands of union-hating extremists [and] bigots.'" Well, people do not feel that way about Goldwater any longer.

It was a gathering perhaps most striking by the enthusiasm of young people. It is generally accepted that the politics of such as Goldwater and Reagan and Thatcher is the politics of yesteryear. In

Arizona, Congressman Jon Kyl, who is a trenchant critic of federal overspending, is running for the seat of retiring Senator DeConcini, and is favored to win. John Shadegg, son of a biographer of both Barry Goldwater and Clare Boothe Luce, is running to replace him, on a platform that might have been excerpted from Goldwater's canonical, *The Conservatism of a Conservative*. And Governor Fife Symington, running for re-election, proposes to repeal the Arizona income tax. It is to acknowledge that one is in a different part of America to view the prospective elimination of an income tax, heartening bright young political activists, only two years after the activation of an income tax in Connecticut by a jaded populist.

Mrs. Thatcher gave the assembly her basic catechism, surprising no one, not even by the exhibition of her eloquence, now legendary. She had time for only a few questions, and showed her political face when asked, "What are the lessons for Americans from the British experience with the National Health Service?" The crowd would have loved it if she had given a stemwinder against involving government in health. But a former British prime minister can't do this, because for all its shortcomings, socialized health is beloved of Britons. ("Our medicine costs us 6 per cent of our GNP, yours, 14 per cent.") And when asked what did she predict for South Africa under an ANC government, she was properly diplomatic, proud to recall that she had voted against imposing economic sanctions against South Africa, believing as she does that sanctions more often than not

damage those one is trying to help. ("The vote among the Commonwealth nations was 49 to 1 in favor of sanctions. We did not impose sanctions.")

And she loved it when asked what had been her first impressions of Gorbachev. She said she knew she was in the presence of a Soviet anomaly when Gorbachev told her that not more than one-third of Soviet agricultural produce actually reached the market. "No Soviet official, ever, anywhere, admitted that anything, ever, under any circumstances, could be wrong with the functioning of the Soviet empire."

Well, things were so wrong in Russia, they got rid of the system and also of Gorbachev. And in Great Britain, they got rid of Mrs. Thatcher, and in America, they turned Barry Goldwater down thunderously. But although the loyalists no longer convene in Casablanca and Florence, in Phoenix they are lively and bright-eyed, and utterly disposed to look history in the face, and say, Look, you made an awful mistake back there. □

What Are They Arguing About?

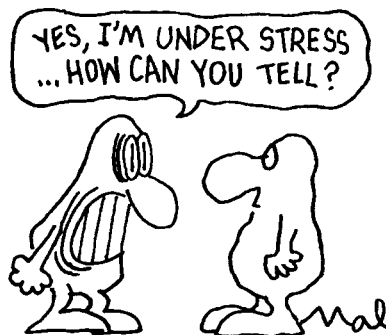
NEW YORK, APRIL 29

The year is 1960, and in Sumter, South Carolina, there is Andy's Chicken Heaven ("Come On In and Have Yo'self a Celestial Bite!"). Everybody is welcome. Except Negroes, as we called them in 1960.

A half-dozen students, back for the summer from the University of South Carolina, are inflamed by what they have heard in class about inequality and its corrosive implications. They are very quickly in touch with the quiet fraternity of older people whose views on Jim Crow are similar, and they decide to give life and blood to their ideals.

They elaborate their offensive. These are law-and-order types, so they won't actually enter Andy's and make a scene on the spot though they envision the day when young Negroes will do exactly that; but not yet. Instead, they arrange to picket Andy's with signs and placards expressing their objections: "God Made Everybody Equal—Except Negroes. Right?" That was one sign. Another read, "Go to Andy's and Renounce God."

The first day of the picketing was a bruiser. It was cops, all right, though they were off duty, not a trace of a uniform. They were satisfied to knock the wind out of a few of the protestors, leaving them gasping on the ground outside.



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The picketers vanished from the scene, but reassembled at their meeting place and decided they had better approach their mission more discreetly.

One of their number, a divinity student, said that he didn't think the situation called for bumper-sticker polemics. Better the reasoned argument. So instead of the placard that read, "You Will Go to Hell if You Deny the Negro is Made in God's Image," a thousand-word essay was written, making the point that to tolerate the rejection of a brother because of the color of his skin was tantamount to rejecting the strictures of Christ. That leaflet and a half-dozen others, brought together by correspondence with what was gradually becoming a Southern network, armed the protestors with material sufficient to give all patrons of Andy's reading for a day or more. Granted, most of the patrons refused the proffered leaflets. When that happened, the protestors attempted to engage them in conversation. "Do you realize what you're doing, ma'am? You're helping to deny somebody, just because he's black, the right to keep himself alive by eating a little chicken."

—Okay, you have got the point. And so has the Supreme Court, having agreed in *Madsen v. Women's Health Center* to review a state's laws that would prohibit the equivalent of everything mentioned above, if directed not at a chicken joint, but at an abortion clinic. The controversy is of course judicially interesting, but interesting also in what it reveals about the nature of "public" sympathy. In the days of Jim Crow, the sympathy of the press elite was wholeheartedly with the protestors. In the age of abortion-on-demand, the sympathy is with the abortionist and his clients.

Now this is an arresting point, because it probes the central philosophical questions. The moral-minded intelligence tends to accept the proposition that a human being is an "equal" before the law irrespective of any other criterion of equality. He may be black, yellow, or brown. He may be bright or stupid. That commitment to human equality is essentially religious in character. In what sense are, say, serial murderer Ted Bundy and people-saver Mother Teresa equal—except as creatures of God?

Now the judicial point is being argued on the simple question: Are our First Amendment rights to speak and to protest sufficiently guaranteed under the Florida statute? "When Solicitor General Days described the demonstrators as having tried to intimidate the clinic's patients and staff," reports Linda Greenhouse of the *New York Times*, "Justice

Scalia said: 'Calling names is designed to hurt. Calling President Nixon a murderer during the war in Vietnam was designed to hurt. But it wasn't unlawful.'" The judicial contest will probably overwhelm the other point, which is, to say it again, arresting, namely that a baby, though not yet born, is a human being, just as a black is a human being. □

China, Around The Corner

NEW YORK, APRIL 26

In the past fortnight I put the question to three major legislative figures: "Did you back Jackson-Vanik?" Yes, said Les Aspin. Yes, said Stephen Solarz. Yes, said Howard Baker. And all three now say that they made a mistake. Jackson-Vanik specified that no trade advantages (in the form of lowered tariffs) should be given to the Soviet Union unless Jews were permitted to emigrate. It is now the consensus that Jackson-Vanik didn't help Jews (the number permitted to leave in 1975, the year the amendment was enacted, was actually less than in the preceding year). And now the whole business of exerting pressure for human rights through the instrument of tariffs is dead ahead. On June 3, President Clinton is supposed to decide whether or not to continue to extend Most Favored Nation privileges to China.

Mr. Clinton, as so often happens to him, is stewing in his own juice. During the campaign, Mr. Clinton railed against President Bush for doing less than should be done to promote human rights in China. Accordingly, when he became President he felt a need to act out the difference between him and his predecessor. In the spring of 1993, he issued an Executive Order binding on—himself. Unless the Chinese significantly advanced the cause of human rights in the ensuing 12 months, Most Favored Nation privileges would be withdrawn.

But he does not really want to withdraw them, and such as Howard Baker and Les Aspin and Steve Solarz and Jeane Kirkpatrick inveigh against withdrawing them. Their reasoning is that economic sanctions would have adverse effects on China, and not incidentally on the United States. Although the lines on the graph do not run exactly parallel, immense progress has been made in China in the field of human rights, while immense progress has been made economically. Those who wish to do so are free to say that the one freedom (eco-

nomic) leads to the second (political). Others may deny a strict causal relation, but would have to acknowledge that there is progress in China, if not enough of it.

But the catalogue of rights specified by President Clinton as needing to be improved shows the Chinese very much in arrears. There are still plenty of political prisoners in China, still unaccounted-for missing dissidents, still a persecution of religious practices. If the President chooses, he can, in the words of one analyst, "use his own arithmetic," and by assigning greater value to those liberties that the Chinese have indulged, and less value to those continually prohibited, pronounce the general situation improved, and declare that MFN lives.

The trouble with that technique is that it will earn the contempt of some people whose contempt Mr. Clinton does not solicit, primarily the labor unions. Union officials such as Jeffrey Fiedler are not likely accessories to a smoke-and-mirrors act, nor are such as Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco, or Asia Watch technicians like Mike Jendrzeczyk. They may be wrong on the question of whether it actually would help dissidents to tax Chinese exports via tariffs, but you will never convince them that Bill Clinton's arithmetic is clean, or conscientiously done.

Howard Baker, who has served as Senate Majority Leader, and as Minority Leader, and as Chief of Staff in the White House, says that he is a "Congress man": he believes the general criteria ought to be set by Congress for the conduct of foreign policy. But he believes also that the artisan of foreign policy has got to be the President, and that he should not therefore be bound by rules made generically, which may simply not be suitable particularly. It is one thing to say: We will not trade with any country that does not permit civil liberties; another to say that by refusing to trade, we are in fact advancing the cause of civil liberties.

It may be that we are on the right course with economic sanctions (Solarz, for instance, believes in hanging tough on Cuba); on the other hand, there are indeed differences between, say, China on the one hand and North Korea, Libya, Iran, and Iraq on the other. This has nothing to do with whether China's rulers are more pleasant, a great deal to do with the question of tractability. And the concertmaster on this point, Senator Baker convincingly argues, is the President. Even when the President is Bill Clinton. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

Bad Girls Don't Cry

WHITHER Madonna? "April was a bad month for Madonna," said the *Washington Post* Style section, as the cruelest month drew to a close. "She used to be shocking. Now she's just low-class."

Meeee-ow! The Style section's judgment carries considerable weight—as an arbiter of *les affaires showbiz* it ranks just below the *Los Angeles Times*'s Calendar section and, of course, *People*. So when Style takes a feline swipe at, let's face it, one of the most boffo stars in the history of the universe, attention must be paid.

Anti-Madonna sentiment is everywhere, seeping through the popular culture like a contagion. A new book, *The I Hate Madonna Handbook*, has just hit the stores, compiled by a woman who identifies herself as "a former fan." Just as telling, Madonna was the subject of a revisionist *étude* in *Entertainment Weekly*, by that magazine's most scholarly critic-at-large. It was a devastating blow for a woman whom the magazine once regularly referred to as a "pop icon."

"Shockingly passé," said the headline. "Her once-exhilarating bravado and impudence have curdled into a sullen, crude rebelliousness," wrote Ken Tucker. "As a feminist culture hero, she can't muster a critique of sexism as cogent as the ones offered by the women in bands like the Breeders and Bikini Kill." Her rebelliousness—crude! Her critiques—uncogent! Bikini Kill musters better than Madonna! One can imagine the poor woman reading these hurtful words, raising dewy eyes to the handlers and sycophants who still surround her. "What's cogent mean?" she would ask, but the pain would be too deep for words. Madonna has a right to be hurt—puzzled, too. The proximate cause of her curdling seems to be a recent appear-

ance with David Letterman. She gave Letterman a pair of panties on the air; she used the f-word 14 times, according to *People*'s accountants; she bragged of urinating in the shower; she refused to leave when her time was up. Within days she was struggling vainly to recoup. She said her cursing, for example, "was a protest against censorship." Earlier she would have been honored for her gutsy resistance to Victorian repression. Earlier, in other words, Ken Tucker would have bought it. No longer. Times have turned against her.

To understand how odd this turning is, you must review Madonna's career. Her music videos were considered path-breaking because they showed her (as the quaint phrase went) in various stages of undress, crawling between the legs of men in sado-masochistic poses. Her documentary, *Truth or Dare*, was widely hailed for the moment when she exposed her breasts. Her book, *Sex*, consisting almost entirely of pictures of herself nude, sold 50,000 copies in a couple of days, at \$50 a pop. In published interviews she discussed her favorite types of oral sex. She simulated—at least we all hoped it was simulated—masturbation during her stage shows.

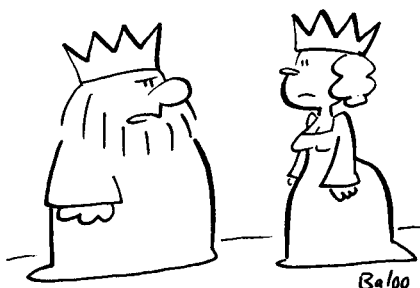
And for doing so she saw her career thrive in the pages of Style and *Enter-*

tainment Weekly and elsewhere. Now, mysteriously, she has gone too far. She must feel like Babe Ruth, who during a ballgame once ate a dozen hot dogs, four boxes of crackerjack, six pickles, and two cones of cotton candy, washed down with half a dozen beers. Before taking the field in the seventh inning he topped it off with an apple, and promptly passed out. When he came to, he said, "I guess I shouldn't have eaten that apple."

THE REVOLUTION is like Saturn," wrote the poet Büchner about the death of Danton. "It eats its children." And smacks its lips, too. The Robespierres of the revolution that has transformed our pop culture over the last generation are a pitiless lot—and disingenuous, to boot. Only Style and its fellow arbiters seem to know when the appropriately "shocking" (masturbating on stage) descends into the inappropriately "low-class" (saying f--- on late-night TV). Madonna's real crime, I suspect, was longevity. She has been boffo for almost a decade, after all. The revolution craves novelty; it is rooted in the short attention span. And because its craving never slackens, it must create new icons and dismantle old ones with amazing speed. Madonna's decade of success is like a century when measured in the dog years of pop fame.

So icons come, icons go. And then, sometimes, they come again. Depending on how things turn out, we grow to miss them, in time grant them a reprieve, even—if their replacements prove unappealing—beckon them to reclaim their former stature. Though it seems impossible today, there was a brief moment when Elvis was eclipsed by Bobby Darin, and Marilyn Monroe by Mamie Van Doren. Before long Elvis and MM returned in triumph, when their fans overcame their capriciousness. The same happy fate may await Madonna. Again I quote Style, from another article several months ago: "Hillary Clinton has replaced Madonna as our leading cult figure." This is very bad news for Mrs. Clinton. It is very good news for Madonna, who even now must be plotting to unseat this pretender to the throne, this Mamie Van Doren of the Nineties.

—ANDREW FERGUSON



"Your mother most certainly may not come over for dinner—that would be the first step toward normalizing relations!"

Mr. Ferguson is a senior writer for The Washingtonian.



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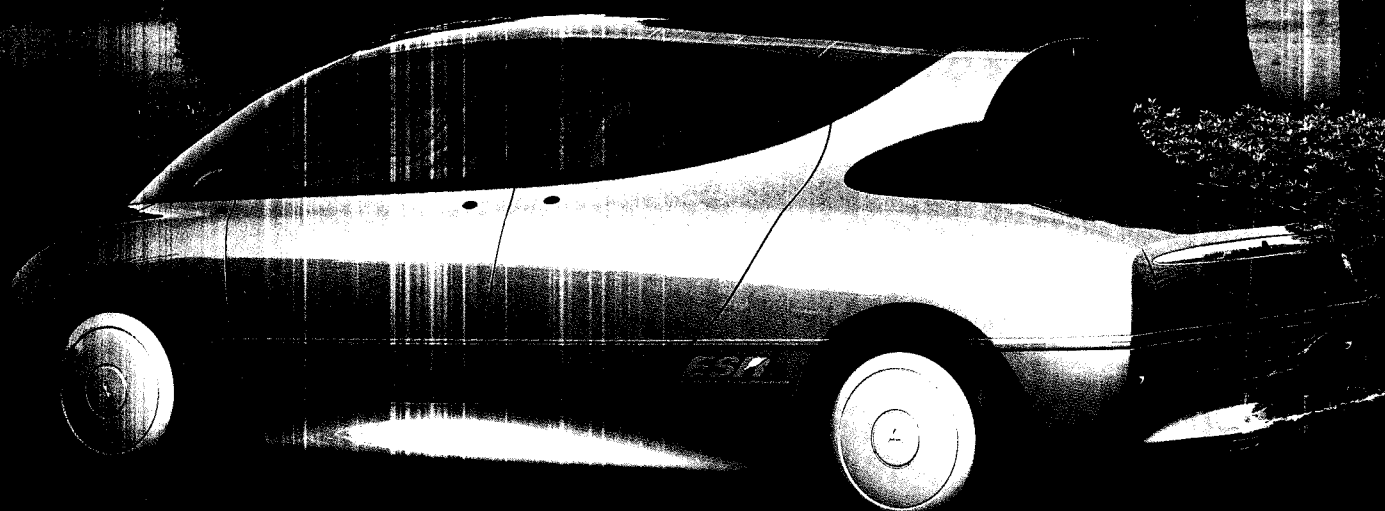


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